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ABSTRACT

This book contains portions of six model higher education introductory history courses designed and presented by experienced classroom instructors to the 1980 conference of the American Historical Association (AHA). After the presentations, the models were reviewed and critiqued. The models presented were: (1) "Toward Two-Sex History: A Model for the European Survey Course from the Renaissance to the French Revolution" (presented by C. Lougee and critiqued by S. Cooper); (2) "Restructuring the American Survey: A Focus Group Model" (presented by J. Lorence and critiqued by C. Hollister); (3) "Presenting History as a Policy Tool: An Introductory Variant for Preprofessional Students" (P. Stearns); (4) "Reading History: An Historical Classic as the Basis for an Introductory Course" (presented by J. Halsted and critiqued by M. Levitch); (5) "Introductory History as Topical Inquiry: The West and the World" (presented by K. Reilly and critiqued by D. Warshaw); and (6) "Introduction to Modern Urban Civilization through a Cultural History of New York City" (W. Taylor). The book ends with a discussion by participants summarizing the major themes and issues, and a conclusion by the AHA's former Teaching Division Vice-President, Warren Susman. (CT)

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The Introductory History Course

Six Models

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The Introductory History Course

Proceedings of the AHA Annapolis Conference on the Introductory History Course

Editor: Kevin Reilly
Somerset County College, NJ

Funded by a grant from Lilly Endowment, Inc.

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PREFACE

The American Historical Association held a conference on The Introductory History Course at Annapolis, on September 28, 29, and 30, 1980. The conference and this publication were made possible by a grant from the Lilly Endowment, Inc., of Indianapolis.

The conference was called by Warren Susman, vice-president in charge of the Teaching Division in the prior two years (1977-79), and it was chaired by the then current vice-president, David D. Van Tassel (1980-82). Mack Thompson, then executive director of the association, and Charlotte Quinn, then assistant director, presided and participated.

The purpose of the conference was to present six model introductory history courses, each of which would be read by all of the participants beforehand and evaluated by two participants at the conference. The models and critiques were to serve as the basis for a wide-ranging discussion of the introductory course.

In all there were twenty-five participants: six model presenters, twelve critics, and three graduate students as well as the previously mentioned officers of the American Historical Association.

The purpose of this publication is to provide, within space constraints, a rich share of each of the models as well as a sampling of criticism and discussion.

To select approximately fifty pages of discussion from a thousand pages of transcript is a risky undertaking. I have chosen those parts of the discussion which I thought most participants would designate the most important. My goal was to capture the tone, direction, and "sense" of the meeting rather than to provide "representative" excerpts from the discussion.

Some of the high points virtually leaped off the transcript intact. Some of the important discussions had to be pruned of thick underbrush. One discussion, the last, had to be traced like some underground stream which intermittently burst to the surface, sweeping us away at the end.

We wish to express our appreciation to Lilly Endowment Inc., and especially Vice-President for Education Laura A. Bornholdt, for its generous support. I want to thank the officers and staff of the American Historical Association, including Mack Thompson, Samuel R. Gammon, David D. Van Tassel, and Charlotte Quinn for their help in realizing the conference and publication. I want to thank all of the participants for their support and assistance, then and since. I am especially indebted to Warren Susman, whose conference this was, for helping with the manuscript, particularly the awkward task of including a critique of my own model. Finally, I would like to thank Jamil S. Zainaldin, deputy executive director of the American Historical Association, for his free hand and unflagging support and Sammetta P. Banks, administrative assistant, for her tireless work in preparing the manuscript for the American Historical Association.

Kevin Reilly

INTRODUCTION

In the Fall of 1980 the Teaching Division of the American Historical Association hosted a Conference on the Introductory History Course at Annapolis, Maryland. Those who assembled for this Annapolis convention had few illusions about what they might accomplish. They came, as the guidelines for the conference suggested, as "concerned teachers" to explore and discuss freely and frankly one of the most persistent problems facing most teachers and departments of history: the nature and function of a basic course in history. The Teaching Division had frequently found this problem central at the various regional teaching conferences it had sponsored, a source of controversy at sessions on the program of the association at its annual meeting, and a matter of genuine concern in the professional literature as well as in many inquiries to the division itself.

The decade of the 1960s had witnessed the elimination of a required history course in the curriculum of many colleges and universities and the multiplication of a wide variety of alternative elective options designed to attract students. The 1970s saw the beginning of efforts to reinstitute some kind of history requirement. The question, increasingly, was what kind of course should this be? This curricular confusion had in fact made the very definition of terms difficult: were we talking about an "introductory" course meaning a course basic to a sequence of history courses, an only course in history for undergraduates, an introduction to an history major, a significant aspect of a liberal arts core of courses, a course that in fact introduced the student to the study of history as inquiry or one that introduced students to the sweep of history itself, the facts and the record? What were we talking about: a required course, an elective course, a liberal arts course or one tailored to preprofessional or even professional programs?

Against the background of such confusion, the Teaching Division invited twenty-five men and women, teachers and scholars selected largely because of their demonstrated interest in the questions under discussion and because of their considerable classroom experience. They were known to be exceptionally able teachers. But none was selected to represent a particular intellectual position or political constituency. In a general way an effort was made to include teachers from every kind of academic institution of higher education: public and private, college and university, liberal arts and more professionally oriented, two-year and four-year, urban and rural, those with "open" and those with more "elite" admissions standards. As much as possible geographic diversity was also considered in the invitations with teachers from the East Coast, West Coast, Middle West, and Southwest attending. While wide and varied teaching experience was central to the conference, three graduate students at the very beginning of their teaching careers attended and participated with special effectiveness. To provide some critical distance the conference also listed among its membership a philosopher with a special interest in the philosophy of history and long-time involvement in an historically-oriented basic humanities course and a social scientist with expertise in both the practical and theoretical issues in social science education.

The participants were invited to discuss the issues. In order to provide a concrete basis for such discussion, the conference commissioned six very different models of possible courses based on actual experience at six very different kinds of institutions. Developed in advance, all of the models were sent to all participants. Each session of the conference was then devoted to a discussion centering on a particular model and the brief critiques presented by the two conference members given that assignment.

The models which formed the basis of discussion were:

(1) Toward Two-Sex History: A Model for the European Survey Course from the Renaissance to the French Revolution (Stanford);

(2) Restructuring the American Survey: A Focus Group for the Introductory Course (an opportunity for in-depth work in connection with a basic survey) (University of Wisconsin Center, Marathon County);

(3) Presenting History as a Policy Tool: An Introductory Variant for Preprofessional Students (Carnegie-Mellon);

(4) Reading History: An Historical Classic as the Basis for an Introductory Course (Amherst):

(5) Introductory History as Topical History (World History organized in terms of the study of basic human issues and problems) (Somerset County College, New Jersey);

(6) Introduction to Modern Urban Civilization Through a Cultural History of New York City (SUNY at Stony Brook).

The participants were Joyce Antler (Brandeis); Cleo Cherryholmes (Political Science, Michigan State): Sandi E. Cooper (Richmond College); Constantin Fasolt (Columbia graduate student); Jane Gover (NYU graduate student); John B. Halsted (Amherst); C. Warren Hollister (University of California at Santa Barbara); Martha C. Howell (Rutgers); Jerry M. Israel (Illinois Wesleyan); Marvin Levich (Philosophy, Reed); James J. Lorence (Wisconsin, Marathon County); Carolyn C. Lougee (Stanford); Bullitt Lowry (North Texas State); Charlotte A. Quinn (AHA); Kevin Reilly (Somerset County College, NJ); Kevin Ryan (NYU graduate student); James Shenton (Columbia); Peter N. Stearns (Carnegie-Mellon): Warren Susman (AHA and Rutgers); William R. Taylor (SUNY at Stony Brook); Mack Thompson (AHA), David D. Van Tassel (AHA and Case Western Reserve): Daniel Warshaw (Fairleigh Dickinson); Donald Weinstein (University of Arizona); and Henry R. Winkler (President, University of Cincinnati).

Warren Susman
Rutgers University

MODEL 1: Toward Two-Sex History: A Model for the European Survey Course From the Renaissance to the French Revolution

Presented by Carolyn C. Lougee,
Stanford University

Professor Lougee introduced her richly detailed fifty-page model with a general description of the course.

Despite its title, this is not a single-issue model. It speaks to general issues concerning the introductory survey course, suggesting two possible formats for updating the traditional survey, while it seeks to demonstrate ways in which both formats can be revised to include the history of women alongside the history of men.

Weeks one through ten are designed to suggest a particular approach for those Western civilization type surveys which use great works as their primary readings. This section of the model has three principal features. First, it emphasizes the links between text and context, illuminating the interrelationships between the literary and philosophical masterpieces of Western culture on the one hand and political, social, and economic developments on the other. The lectures survey the context in which the texts read in the course were written, stressing the historical circumstances which influenced the individual author's thinking and mode of presentation.

The second feature of the course is its multidisciplinary humanistic breadth, for it seeks to relate to each other contemporaneous developments in music, art, and ideas, claiming the visual and musical arts within the province of intellectual history. The third feature of the course set forth in weeks one through ten is its focus on the personal impact of public historical developments.

Particularly through the readings in the weekly sections labelled "Women's Voices" the historian becomes Michelet's Prometheus, melting the frozen voices of the dead, resurrecting through personal documents individuals who never created the administrative documents, diplomatic dispatches or literary masterpieces which historians have traditionally used to reconstruct the past.

Weeks eleven through fifteen suggest a different kind of revision for a second type of traditional survey course: the course for which politics, the emergence of the modern state, provide the backbone. Primarily through the use of relatively elementary quantitative and demographic materials this section seeks to connect the political narrative to the new social history, to analyze both public events and private experience, to move away from periodization by events toward long-term patterns, and to abandon an exclusive concern with influential elites to include popular, often inarticulate social groups.

Over and above these suggestions on general approach, this entire model aims to demonstrate ways in which women's experiences belong in the mainstream of historical narrative. Very simply, the rationale for this effort is (as with Everest) that women were there: they were integral to the past; they are not simply being grafted onto it ex post facto because of an anachronistic ideological commitment. Historians who teach this course will discover how women were involved in what they have defined all along as historically significant and will discover the historical significance of the other activities in which women were involved. This model should make clear that women made a difference long before they entered the public political arena in modern democracies and that therefore, henceforth, to call anything history when women are left out will be to commit what Peter Gay once labelled "larceny by definition."

To this end, this model curriculum interweaves with the standard political, social, and intellectual narrative of European history between 1300 and 1789 three themes of women's history:

1. defining as accurately as possible the "condition" of European women in the early modern period: their reproductive experience, legal status, economic standing, political action, educational opportunities, as well as the representations of woman's nature and proper social role in imaginative literature, art, and prescriptive literature.

2. highlighting the contributions made by women individually and as a gender group to the development of European civilization from the Renaissance through the Age of the Enlightenment.

3. resurrecting and heeding women's voices--in their diaries, their letters, their autobiographies, their treatises, their fictions.

Throughout, an overarching question is the shifting degree of disparity between the experiences of gender groups in the early modern era of accelerating social and intellectual change. Some sociologists (e.g., Janet Giele, "Centuries of Womanhood: An Evolutionary Perspective on the Feminine Role," Women's Studies I [1972]) argue forcefully that in recent years women have shared more and more life experiences with men, having gained the ability to make more and more choices independent of their gender. On the other hand, many feminist historians argue the opposite, at least for the early modern period: that the engines of modernization-- urbanization, capitalism, secularization--have had such differential impacts on men and women that they have increased the extent to which gender has separated individuals into distinct life experiences, reducing women's standing and accentuating the inequality of the sexes. Thus, for example, Joan Kelly ("The Social Relation of the Sexes: Methodological Implications of Women's History," Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society I, 809-23) posits an inverse historical relationship between the status of men and women at key transitional points: "what emerges is a fairly regular pattern of relative loss of status for women precisely in the periods of so-called progressive change." The materials in the following unit are designed to help students and instructors confront and resolve this problem of historical interpretation.

A Note on Textbooks. The effort to integrate women in the survey course is facilitated significantly by the adoption of a textbook which shares this goal. Two textbooks which pay some attention to women's history and which for this reason are recommended in the following pages are:

Mortimer Chambers, Raymond Grew, David Herlihy,
Theodore K. Rabb, and Isser Woloch, The Western
Experience (2nd edition, Knopf)

John P. McKay, Bennett D. Hill, and John Buckler,
A History of Western Society (Houghton Mifflin)

Professor Lougee's overall syllabus covers the following topics in fifteen weeks:

Europe: From the Renaissance to the French Revolution
(15 weeks)

Part I. The Medieval Background, 1200-1300

Week #1 - The Unity of Christendom
Week #2 - The Variety of Local Societies

Part II. The Rediscovery of the Ancient World: The Renaissance in Italy, 1300-1527

Week #3 - The Dawn of Humanism, 1300-1375
Week #4 - Respublica Florentina, 1375-1469
Week #5 - The Renaissance of the Princes, 1469-1527

Part III. The Age of the Reformation, 1517-1572

Week #6 - The Pre-Reform Era: Northern Europe to 1517
Week #7 - Theological Controversies, 1517-1572
Week #8 - The Spread of Reformation
Week #9 - Intellectual Revolution and Continuity

Part IV. The Age of the Baroque, 1572-1720

Week #10 - Social and Political Conflicts
Week #11 - The Crisis of the Seventeenth Century
Week #12 - Early Modern Culture: The Imposition of Social Control in the Grand Siecle
Week #13 - Kings and Philosophers: Patriarchalism, Absolutism, and Constitutionalism

Part V. The Age of the Enlightenment, 1720-1789

Week #14 - Intellectual Innovation and Continuity
Week #15 - Socioeconomic Structures in Transition

Because of limitations of space what follows is a selection from Professor Lougee's model for Weeks 1, 4, 8, 12, and 15.

Part I. The Medieval Background, 1200-1300

Week 1 - The Unity of Christendom

I. Lecture Topics

a. The Universal Church
b. Sacerdotium and Imperium: The Two Swords
c. Scholasticism and the Revival of Learning

II. Lecture Content

a. This review of the codification of the Church hierarchy in the Reform Period (900-1200 A.D.) should include a discussion of the shrinking, since the Apostolic and Patristic periods, of the religious roles open to Christian women: the inception of clerical celibacy, the exclusion of women from the priesthood and from ecclesiastical authority.

III. Text Assignment

Chambers, pp. 269-302 or McKay, pp. 25-27

IV. Readings for Students

Nature - Aristotle, from Ethics and from Politics (to include Books I and II)

Grace - Augustine, from Confessions (including chapters 7, 10, 32) and from The City of God (including Books 14, 19, 22)

The Thomist Synthesis - Aquinas, from Summa Theologica (including Quaestio #82, "The Essence of Original Sin," and Quaestio #92, "The Production of Woman")

Women's Voices: Eloise's Letters

Hroswitha of Gandersheim, plays and prefaces

V. Bibliography for Instructors

Elaine Pagels, The Gnostic Gospels

Eileen Power, "The Position of Women in the Middle Ages," in Susan Groag Bell, Women: From The Greeks to the French Revolution

Eileen Power, Medieval English Nunneries

Mary Daly, The Church and the Second Sex

Geoffrey Ashe, The Virgin

Rosemary Radford Ruether, Religion and Sexism (articles on the New Testament: The Fathers, Medieval Theology, Cannon Law)

VI. Enrichment Materials

Music: "Liber Usualis" (Gregorian Chant), ca. 900 A.D.

"Alleluja Nativitas" Perotin, ca. 1200 - polyphony from Paris

Slides: Romanesque architecture (Cluny, Charlemagne's Chapel, Mont St. Michel)

Gothic architecture (St. Denis, Ste. Chapelle, Chartres exterior and windows): The windows show the penetration of the secular into the sacred space and portray secular women in a variety of roles as well as the religious iconography of the virgin.

Week 4 - Respublica Florentina: 1375-1469

I. Lecture Topics

- a. Warfare among the City-States
- b. Civic Humanism
- c. The Renaissance Family

II. Lecture Contents

b. The discussion of civic humanism can link the republican ideal and the validation of the lay life to the intensified interest in the family and family duties, which is evident notably in Alberti's _On The Family_ (1434). Study of humanist educational prescriptions should include the quite distinct recommendations for women's education and a consideration of the reason why the importance of women's education began to be stressed even though women were excluded from the civic (public) offices for which the male citizen needed a humanist education.

c. This lecture can build upon recent studies of the Florentine household structure and size, family formation and mortality. What were the effects on women and on the character of the family unit of their very young age at first marriage and of the acute age disparity between brides and grooms? This discussion may also link the bottom-heavy age pyramid with its high dependency ratio to the problems of child abandonment, especially to evidence that female children were abandoned disproportionately often.

III. Text Assignment

Chambers, pp. 367-96, 102-15 or McKay, pp. 371-408

IV. Readings for Students

Civic Humanism - Cicero, from _De Officiis_
Salutati, Three Letters
Bruni, "Concerning the Study of Literature"

Joan Kelly Gadol, "Did Women Have A Renaissance?"
in _Becoming Visible_

Women's Voices: Christine de Pizan, selections from City of Ladies (1405)

Alessandra Machinghi Strozzi, Letters

V. Bibliography for Instructors

Linda Nochlin, "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?"

David Herlihy, "Deaths, Marriages, Births, and the Tuscan Economy (ca. 1300-1550)," in Ronald Demos Lee, ed. Population Patterns in the Past, pp. 135-64

David Herlihy, "Mapping Households in Medieval Italy," Catholic Historical Review LXIII (1972), pp. 1-24

David Herlihy, "The Family in the Renaissance," Forums in History, Forum Press

David Herlihy, "Family Solidarity in Medieval Italian History," in Herlihy, et al., eds., Economy, Society and Government in Medieval Italy (1969)

Christiane Klapisch and Michel Demonet, "A uno pane e uno vino: The Rural Tuscan Family at the Beginning of the Fifteenth Century," in Robert Forster and Orest A. Ranum, eds., Family and Society, pp. 41-74

Francis William Kent, Household and Lineage in Renaissance Florence (1977)

Richard C. Trexler, "The Foundlings of Florence, 1395-1445," History of Childhood Quarterly I (1973), pp. 259-64

Richard C. Trexler, "Infanticides in Florence," History of Childhood Quarterly I (1973), pp. 98-116

Stanley Chojnacki, "Dowries and Kinsmen in Early Renaissance Venice," Journal of Interdisciplinary History, V (1974-75), pp. 571-600

Joan Kelly Gadol, "Did Women Have a Renaissance?," in Becoming Visible. This essay argues that despite advances in culture and in the material conditions of life, which historians have long considered the distinctive features of the Renaissance, the period was marked by increasing inequalities of social power between men and women. Indeed "there was no renaissance for women--at least not during the Renaissance." With changes in the economy and statecraft, the hitherto overlapping and interdependent public and domestic domains moved increasingly apart, with the domestic subordinate to the public and domesticated women dependent upon the men who controlled both realms. The essay takes a novel, critical look, then, at the Renaissance period, and beyond that, it opens students' thinking up to larger questions of periodication: what element when shared makes a cluster of years a historical period: what are meaningful division lines (treaties, reigns, reproductive strategies)?

Susan Groag Bell, "Christine de Pizan (1364-1430): Humanism and the Problem of a Studious Woman," Feminist Studies III (1976). This article elucidates the difficulties facing the learned woman who heeded the exhortations of humanists to intellectual pursuits but suffered the loneliness and estrangement that the life of scholarship meant to a Renaissance woman, who was isolated by her sex from the networks of support and exchange available to male scholars.

VI. Enrichment Materials

Music: Andreas de Florentia, "Non piu doglea ebbe Dido"

Slides: Civic monuments (Doge's palace in Venice, the city halls of Siena and Florence) and the allegorical fresco from the Siena Town Hall ("The Effects of Good Government in City and Country," circa 1340). The values of civic humanism can be illustrated with pictures of the Baptistery Doors, Ghiberti's Jacob and Esau Panel, Michelangelo's David, Ghiberti's St. Matthew, Donatello's St. George, Masaccio's Trinity, Masaccio's Tribute Money.

Jan Van Eyck's, "Arnolfini and His Bride" is a famed example of the Renaissance genre of domestic portraiture.

Week 8 - The Spread of the Reformation

I. Lecture Topics

a. The Radical Reformation
b. Was There a Reformation in England?
c. Why Was Paris Worth A Mass?: The French Civil Wars

II. Lecture Contents

a. Religious radicalism bred and fed upon a social radicalism which would transform families and revolutionize the position of women.

b. Of course, the question of the royal marriage and the two characters of Mary and Elizabeth.

A general question for the entire Reformation section, directly addressed in this week's readings is: how does a comparison of the religious adherence of women and men within identifiable geographical and socioprofessional categories place in a new light the questions of causation and appeal which lie at the heart of Reformation studies?

III. Readings for Students

"Homily on Matrimony" in Bell

Nancy Roelker, "The Appeal of Calvinism to French Noblewomen," Journal of Interdisciplinary History II (1972), pp. 391-418

Natalie Zemon Davis, "City Women and Religious Change," in her Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays (1975). This seminal article investigates the patterns of women's religious adherence, special appeals of some reformed doctrines and disciplines to women.

Women's Voices: Louise Labé's poetry

Charlotte de Mornay, Memoirs

a Huguenot noblewoman describes the developments of the French Wars of Religion

IV. Bibliography for Instructors

Claus Peter Classen,

Patrick Collinson, "The Role of Women in the English Reformation Illustrated by the Life and Friendships of Anne Locke," Studies in Church History II (1962), pp. 258-72

George H. Williams, The Radical Reformation (1962), especially chapter 20

V. Enrichment Materials

Music: Two Popular Protest Songs from the French Civil Wars ("Voyez la grande offense" and "Contre les Huguenots").

Film: "A Man For All Seasons"

Week 12 - Early Modern Culture:

The Imposition of Social Control in the Grand Siecle

I. Lecture Topics

a. Puritanism and Catholic Reform
b. The Scientific Revolution: Copernicus to Newton
c. Salons, Courts, and Academies

II. Lecture Contents

a. Seventeenth-century religious developments. Include consideration of male and female styles of devotion, women's contributions to the consolidation of various religious movements, religious attitudes toward women and sexuality, women's participation in popular devotional life as well as the contributions of the reformers (Protestant and Catholic alike) to social control institutions such as hospitals, prisons, workhouses.

c. The institutionalization of cultural development. In addition to the political purposes of the court and some anecdotal, celebratory material, on the fascinating women such as Lafayette and Sévigné (even Maintenon), discuss four aspects of the society of *la cour et la ville* (court and salon). First, the salon, like the court, was an arena of tight personal discipline. Reading quotations from Erasmus' "On Civility," (1530), showing Rosselini's "Louis XIV" will help students measure the distance travelled in mental and emotional structures between 1530 and 1660: the gradual emergence of an intensified self-discipline over impulses, libido, and sentiments that characterizes modern Western populations and sets them apart both from their premodern ancestors and from contemporary non-Western populations, a narrowing of the range of acceptable behavior, new expectations of self-control (see Elias). Second, the courts and salons were instrumental as a stage in the transition toward modern class structures, a melting pot of elites defined by wealth rather than birth, incorporating sources of wealth generated by the state itself and by non-agrarian activities. Most salon women did not come from old noble families (see Lougee). Third, salons and courts were important institutions of oral culture. Composed of intellectuals and writers on the one hand and social elites on the other, these institutions disseminated cultural innovations to expanding circles of the population of both sexes, facilitating the intergration of new ideas into accepted ways of thinking. Finally, salons were important institutions for women themselves: as a courtship arena, but also as an opportunity to develop their own talents, to wield patronage, to cultivate friendships, and also as a form of education, even of apprenticeship between generations of women, a surrogate university (see Bodek).

III. Text Assignment

Chambers, chapter 16 (pp. 506-45) and the essay "The Image of Man in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Art" (between pp. 612 and 613) or Mckay, chapter 15 (pp. 483-513)

IV. Readings for Students

Thomas Kuhn, The Copernican Revolution

Selections from Erasmus, "On Civility"

Fontenelle, Conversations on the Plurality of Worlds (1686), excerpted on the Copernican System in Norman L. Torrey, ed., Les Philosophes, pp. 22-30

Women's Voices: Marie de Sevigne, Letters

Especially the letters of 1671 when she discusses the meaning of salons, the advisability of birth control for women, her own participation in the Breton provincial estates

V. Topics for Discussion

The meaning of salons for women.

Fontenelle's essay is a typical simplification written for the purpose of disseminating new scientific ideas to amateurs. What function does the countess play?

VI. Bibliography for Instructors

On Seventeenth-Century Religion:

Jane Dempsey Douglass, "Women and the Continental Reformation," in Rosemary Ruether, ed., Religion and Sexism, pp. 292-318

Orest Ranum, Paris in the Age of Absolutism: An Essay, chapter 3

Emanuel Chill, "Religion and Mendicity in Seventeenth-Century France," International Review of Social History, VII (1962)

Jean-Louis Flandrin, Families in Former Times: Kinship, Household and Sexuality, pp. 112-80

On salons:

Norbert Elias, The Civilizing Process

Evelyn Gordon Bodek, "Salonieres and Bluestockings: Educated Obsolescence and Germinating Feminism," Feminist Studies III: 3/4 (spring-summer 1976), pp. 185-99

Carolyn C. Lougee, Le Paradis des Femmes: Women, Salons, and Social Stratification in Seventeenth-Century France

On English learned ladies:

Doris Stenton, The English Women in History

Hilda Smith, Reason's Disciples: Seventeenth-Century English Feminists

VII. Enrichment Materials

Music: Lully, airs composed for the girls at the Maison royale de Saint-Cyr

Film: Rosselini, "Louis XIV"

Slides: Works by women members of the Academie royale de peinture et sculpture (established 1648): Catherine Duchemin, Sophie Cheron, Madeline Boulogne, Catherine Perrot

Week 15: Socioeconomic Structures in Transition

I. Lecture Topics

a. Early Capitalism, the Market Economy, and the Industrial Take-Off

b. The Breakdown of the Village Community

c. The Coming of the French Revolution

II. Lecture Content

a. Establish the foundation for subsequent discussion of the impact of industrialization on women by analyzing the impact on women of an economy that was labor-intensive with a high dependency ratio, unified residence and workplace, and acutely unequal wealth distribution. Include the growth of the market economy in the later eighteenth century and the spread of small-scale industry, still largely family-based.

b. Sketch the worsening economic conditions, population growth, price inflation, competition for lands and jobs as a backdrop to the disintegration of traditional controls on private behavior.

III. Text Assignment

Chambers, chapter 20 (pp. 646-83), or McKay, chapters 18-20 (pp. 581-672)

IV. Readings for Students

Selections from Arthur Young, Travels In France (1787);

Georges Lefebvre, The Coming of the French Revolution

Olwen Hufton, "Women and the Family Economy," French Historical Studies IX

Claude Delasselle, "Abandoned Children in Eighteenth-Century Paris," in Robert Forster, ed., Deviants and the Abandoned in French Society, pp. 47-82

Women's Voices: Cissie Fairchilds, "Female Sexual Attitudes and the Rise of Illegitimacy: A Case Study," Journal of Interdisciplinary History VIII (spring 1978), pp. 627-67

V. Topics for Discussion

The differential impact of urbanization on women and men.

Was the work women did in preindustrial Europe autonomy-producing (Alice Clark) or dependent and monotonous (Ivy Pinchbeck)? Did access to work in preindustrial Europe confer power and status on women or equality in the home and in society?

To what extent did the late manufacturing period, the proliferation of cottage industry, change living patterns, feelings about each other (conjugal love and family loyalty), feelings about the land?

As Arthur Young asks in the final sentence of the attached excerpt from his Travels in France, to what can we attribute the difference in common women's work and lives between England and France? In what ways does this difference, so graphically set out by Young, illuminate the contrasting economic policies and economic fates of the two nations in the course of the eighteenth century?

VI. Bibliography for Instructors

Jean-Louis Flandrin, Families in Former Times, pp. 180-242

Joan W. Scott and Louise Tilly, Women, Work, and Family (1978)

Alice Clark, The Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century

Eric Richards, "Women in the British Economy," History LIX (1974), pp. 337-57

Rudolf Braun, "The Impact of Cottage Industry on an Agricultural Population," in David S. Landes, ed., The Rise of Capitalism, pp. 53-64

Jacques Depauw, "Illicit Sexual Activity and Society in 18th-Century Nantes," in Orest Ranum and Robert Forster, eds., Family and Society, pp. 145-91

Edward Shorter, "Female Emancipation, Birth Control, and Fertility," American Historical Review, LXXVIII (1973), pp. 605-40

J. M. Beattie, "The Criminality of Women in 18th-Century England," Journal of Social History VIII (1975), 80-116

VII. Enrichment Materials

Music: Protest Songs of the Prerevolutionary Period on "Histoire de France par les Chansons," or Mozart, The Marriage of Figaro

COMMENT ON MODEL 1

Sandi Cooper

Prior to addressing Carolyn Lougee's proposal, I would beg a few moments to raise a larger issue which I believe must be faced by college educators in the last fifth of this century.

To my mind, the most dramatic matter raised by the entire range of proposals before this conference is not the predictable debate on whether traditional history or the newer social history is the better mode for addressing and combatting both our impending extinction as a profession and public ignorance of the past. What is absolutely arresting is the assumed range of student ability inherent in these proposals. This range leaves me with the immensely depressing awareness that American college students indeed reflect not merely a class-based society but almost a caste-bound society.

Once upon a time in my personal career history I did teach students who could have managed the model proposed by Professor Lougee (I began teaching in 1959). Reading her model evokes a personal nostalgia akin to handling pink Woolworth glass from the Depression era in a flea market. In the last decade, a totally different student body has invaded American colleges, a group of students whose presence is the result of what we can call, perhaps, a national "open admissions" policy. I would hazard a guess that the majority of American students today fits a description which matches those attending the CUNY system of 18 colleges, senior and junior.

These students fall into two categories: older students with certain literacy skills and younger students, many of whom read on fifth to eighth grade levels with writing skills to match. Most of them work between twenty to forty hours a week, in both categories. The housewives in the older category are often expected to be full time wives and mothers and therefore must be home by 3 PM and on weekends. Some are single parents whose lives are a first-class juggling act. For jobs, students work in low paying areas such as waitresses, lab technicians, gas station attendants, clerks or earn money in the underground economy. Generally, they enroll as majors in career programs--medical or mechanical technology, fire science, hotel management, nursing, business, accounting, criminal justice. A decade ago many would have opted for combined education-liberal arts majors but these students know full well the folly of majoring in something that is not a likely meal ticket. When they appear in a section of the introductory history course, it is most likely because that class meets on the days and times when they can expect to be on campus. They are in it because it fulfills a liberal arts graduation requirement. These are kept at a minimum. A tiny percentage of our students pursue the traditional majors in liberal arts with the hopes of going to graduate school or professional school. Most of our students know full well that they are not the future bankers, professors, lawyers or corporation executives of the world. They are remarkably meek and accepting of their status. Some of the older students preserve a faint memory of high school history from the days when it was an exercise in Patriotism I and II. The younger students, in all likelihood, went through civics and social studies, where from workbook exercises they read about how Eskimos build igloos and how "Our Neighbors Abroad" live. By and large, neither group has much awareness of time or place.

Finally, most of these are first generation college students in their families. In Europe, these families would be labelled working class, petty bourgeois or even, lumpenproletariat using both socioeconomic and cultural matrices. Large numbers of students are from ghetto backgrounds; another group from ethnic neighborhoods. Their provincialism and, indeed, prejudices sometimes overwhelm. Last year, the favorite culture hero was John Travolta and astrology was seriously pursued as a way of securing one's life. A number of my students come from homes where alcoholism, battering, child abuse and incest occur and mental illness is common. An increasing number are handicapped.

Professor Lougee would probably be among the first to agree that the model of an introductory course which she proposes would not work in such classes. It is perhaps appropriate for our advanced students, for these are people whose abilities and commitment to college work come from and fit into an entirely different mode than the students described above. Even for advanced students, however, I would suggest that the focus would have to change. Such a course would have to move up to the present in time, dropping large portions of the earlier period. It would have to eliminate what once were the holy areas of knowledge of European culture and focus on social and economic issues--commercial capitalism and colonization, agricultural communities and the transformation to industrialization, Enlightenment reformism versus revolutions from 1789-1871, impact of modernization on European social classes (after classes were defined) and on non-European people; twentieth-century wars, revolutions, the Cold War and the rise of the United States to world eminence. In short, the content and time focus on such a course would have to deal with issues that can be related to present experience. While I am a devotee of Durer etchings and love Palestrina's music and while I am a product of the historical vision embodied in Professor Lougee's introduction to grand culture, all my personal enthusiasm would not engage more than five percent of any class. I realize that Professor Lougee was struggling, here, to bridge the gap between traditionalists who fear an impending Dark Age if students don't read Erasmus and younger scholars who want the bottom layers of society included in a study of civilization. She is to be commended for an extraordinarily careful and detailed effort and an extremely useful bibliography.

For the students most of us encounter, we must find readings and audiovisual materials connected to reading which explicate time and place in relatively simple language. We can rarely expect our students to use libraries or spend much on books. This technical limitation makes the task exceedingly difficult.

The other major purpose of Professor Lougee's model--to insure that both sexes are included while the great traditions are explicated--is both admirable and desirable, on the other hand, and exceedingly difficult on the other. Something has to go and give. Further, a serious scholarly difficulty arises in attempting to integrate women in the traditional Western civilization course, which Professor Lougee is aware of but, I believe, perhaps sidesteps.

That difficulty arises from the probability that women's history and experience does not fit the categories and periods which are usually celebrated in Western civilization courses. I realize here that my remarks are not gospel even among women's historians. However, sufficient work has been done on what happened to the few freedoms and self-defined activities that women enjoyed as "civilization" moved forward for us to seriously question whether "progress" as defined by Western values is meaningful for women. Marilyn Arthur's work on ancient Athens, Eleanor Leacock's studies of American Indians before and after missionary conversions, McNamara and Wemple's articles on medieval religious, Phyllis Andors' examination of the Chinese cultural revolution and most of all, Joan Kelly's work, "Did Women Have a Renaissance?" all point to a similar issue and a common thread among very variegated patriarchal structures. This is not the inane and overworked issue of whether women are naturally inferior--though Western literature abounds on that topic--nor is it the typical misogyny of some periods. This is the issue of why, so frequently, the values of presumably progressive and civilizing forces have either pedestalized or infantilized women's social role. An introductory course dealing with both sexes, I believe, must somehow begin by grappling with this issue. The entire periodization of history, which is an artifice in any case, must be challenged.

The ingredients of an introductory course for an audience similar to the one described above include some regular focus on time and change. Equally, it must begin with an examination of geographic environment. A description of population within that environment ought to follow. An analysis of how that population was structured and what its transclass cultural values were is crucial. The course can then develop whatever themes are appropriate and given the cultural and political literacy of most of our students, I am afraid that these had better be relatively contemporary themes.

At its best, the old Western civilization course--when not constructed for propaganda purposes solely--labored to open minds and widen sensibilities. In the last years of the twentieth century, it seems to me that such a course is not defensible unless it concludes with a focus on the relationship between Western legacies and other portions of the globe. Students do need help in understanding that Western values and capabilities receive a mixed, sometimes schizophrenic, reception in worlds east of the Urals and south of the Mediterranean littoral. The West, or at least some of its citizens, have taken the "initiative" in travelling outward in the past 500 years, not vice versa. Such relationships must be explicated.

If my proposals sound too superficial and perhaps ideological, then I am happy to be here to have the help of this conference.

MODEL 2: Restructuring the American Survey: A 'Focus-Group' Model

Presented by: James J. Lorence,
University of Wisconsin Center, Marathon County

Professor Lorence opened his presentation by placing his UWC, Marathon County, model in context.

After a period of steady growth in the 1960s, the survey course in American history entered a period of decline, a "victim of its own successful past." Reflecting the positive experience of an earlier generation of historians, the standard introductory course remains remarkably resistant to structural change, its "organizing principles" little different from those encountered by many of us in our undergraduate years. A product of traditional "academic liberalism," the survey mirrored the political assumptions and social attitudes of the Progressive generation and its later admirers. Until recently, the modern incarnation of the basic course generally adhered to an updated liberalism. In the words of Howard S. Miller, a sensitive critic, the thrust was "still social and reformist, the catchwords still citizenship and progress." Moreover, if Frances Fitzgerald is correct, the problem of the college instructor has been complicated by the publishers of the major public school textbooks, who have responded to interest group pressure by providing our clients with either a sanitized past or an historical social studies orientation.

As a new generation of students entered the university in the 1970s, historians learned that the celebration of the liberal tradition no longer aroused the interest of young people in the post-Vietnam era. The experience of the United States in Southeast Asia cast doubt upon an earlier "vision of omnipotence" which assumed American ability to control world events. Similarly, faith in a benevolent national government dedicated to the expansion of social welfare and individual liberty was shaken by the Watergate excesses. Increasingly, students viewed the valid pedagogical and interpretive approaches of the past with skepticism, insisting instead upon "relevance" (the new and overused catchword of the seventies). With or without the approbation of the professoriate, they have tended to regard history as important insofar as they could relate it to their own experiences and identities. These reservations have been reinforced by the often impersonal learning environment of large lecture sections dedicated to a "coverage of the material," with minimal oppportunity for direct interaction with their mentors. By the mid-1970s, then, revamped college curricula afforded students an opportunity to make a judgment; and the new attitudes manifested themselves in the form of sagging history enrollments nationwide.

Even before the crisis materialized, many historians had concerned themselves with the promotion of effective teaching. As teacher-scholars advanced proposals for the improvement of history instruction, it was inevitable that they should come to emphasize the student's first encounter with the discipline. Consequently, for a dozen years or more, we have witnessed numerous attempts to address the question of what constitutes the survey course, or whether indeed, there must be a single definition of "survey." The model of organization advanced here contains a response to the question of definition, one that will hopefully generate discussion as we examine the many options available to us.

Among the pioneer efforts to revise the introductory course were the "Wisconsin laboratory course" and the "Reading History" plan introduced at Amherst College in the late 1960s. Both sought to ignite interest in the field by exposing students to the process of "doing history." The Wisconsin experiment immersed students in the sources, and the Amherst course stressed writing coupled with exposure to the works of a master practitioner. Both required a redefinition of the concept, "introductory," and the Amherst course was plainly intended to alter the meaning of "survey." Similarly, the "Dynamics of History" approach to the survey adopted at the College of Notre Dame of Maryland set out to "teach process, not content" and to introduce students to "critical and analytical thinking." In this case, the course was built on the question, "What is history?" This course, too, was reformist in its departure from the assumption that learning history should be defined as retaining a specific body of knowledge.

These early experiments established a solid foundation for further exploration. The range of innovation is evident in the results of such recent events as the AHA-sponsored regional teaching conferences and the widely acclaimed Harvard "Experiments in History Teaching" program. These efforts examined not only the survey concept, but also new techniques and formats for history instruction at other levels. Among the myriad of approaches advanced have been the "laboratory" courses, the employment of state and local history materials, oral and family history, architectual history, history through film and music, the use of quantification, audiotutorial techniques, the inquiry method, psychohistory, and the use of mini-courses in selected topical areas.

Professor Lorence then explained the reasoning of the members of his campus department in developing their restructured survey.

A review of the burgeoning literature dealing with teaching innovation persuaded the department that topical history merited further investigation. Consequently, the fundamental questions arose early; what does the term "survey" denote, and are there legitimate alternative definitions? At the outset, the prevailing idea was that the American survey should cover a basic body of knowledge the content of which most historians could agree upon. However, the process of rethinking the survey concept brought into focus the extent to which personal assumptions and biases affected each historian's handling of the course. The historian has always made choices concerning which materials properly belong in the survey course; each instructor makes decisions about the information to be included and interpretations to be stressed. There exists, for example, considerable variety in survey instruction within our own department, some faculty placing heavy stress on social history and others emphasizing political and economic developments. It is probable that similar differences in approach are to be found in most departments, large and small.

Recognizing that such choices are legitimate, the department concluded that the experimental course would sacrifice some coverage for selective exploration of a few topics in-depth. Before proceeding in this direction, it was necessary for the instructor to satisfy himself that he was "not committing a mortal sin by leaving out some of the details of American history." As supporters of conventional methods, our faculty took this step with considerable trepidation. The objective was, after all, to stimulate student interest and involvement in the study of the past without surrendering to current "trendiness." Nonetheless, we decided to alter the prevailing balance between depth and coverage in the survey.

The centerpiece of this approach is what Professor Lorence and his colleagues at Marathon call the "focus group." After attending the "central lecture" and doing the core reading, the students divide into "focus groups" for the remaining two hours of class each week. Here they focus on the particular topic they have chosen. The topics offered at Marathon during the experimental semester were "The American Empire" and "American Social History."

Once the student preferences have been ascertained, targeted reading lists and syllabi are distributed to each group. Each meets twice weekly for intensive exploration of the topical material relevant to the week's general theme (which is established in the core lecture). One small group session consists of an informal lecture-discussion period, during which the instructor introduces more specialized material relevant to the group's topical emphasis. These meetings enable instructors and students to pursue questions at the moment of highest interest, rather than at a time structured for a formal question-response session. The third weekly gathering is devoted to a small group discussion which deals with interpretive materials keyed to the focus group topic. This final meeting is intended to integrate the specialized content of the focus group with core lecture material.

While the core lecture offers a broad introduction to the chronological period or problem area covered during a given week, focus groups are more narrowly defined. Working within the framework set by the central lecture, one pilot study interest group explored such topics as the family, the community, women, blacks, and the lives of "average" men and women; the other emphasized the Puritan sense of mission, the development of empire, the dynamics of cultural contact, ethnocentrism, the removal of native populations, expansionism, and Manifest Destiny. During these small group sessions, students frequently worked with revisionist and alternative interpretations of the material under consideration.

The focus group concept rests on the premise that students will respond more enthusiastically to material that they have helped select than to materials completely preselected by the instructor. A further assumption is that deep exploration of historical events and problems not only captures student interest, but also increases the potential opportunity for deeper understanding.

The particular reading selections at Marathon were tailored to the needs of an open-enrollment two-year institution with some "basic skills limitations."

In the University of Wisconsin-Marathon pilot course, we chose as a textbook America: A Portrait in History by David Burner, Robert Marcus, and Emily Rosenberg. Selected for its attractive illustrations, single-column format, and considerable stress on social history, the text was generally well received, though some students thought it was insufficiently detailed. Of greater interest to most students were the collateral and reserve readings, which were keyed to their interest group. The social history section read John W. Blassingame, The Slave Community; James F. Jameson, The American

Revolution Considered As a Social Movement; and Gary Nash, ed., *The Private Side of American History*. Those students who studied the American Empire were assigned Wilbur Jacobs, *Dispossessing the American Indian*; Richard Van Alstyne, *The Rising American Empire*; and Frank Merli and Theodore Wilson, *Makers of American Diplomacy*. The popularity of Blassingame, Jacobs, and Nash confirmed the assumption that the current generation of history students is especially interested in minority and social history. Student reaction to reserve and handout readings revealed a similar preference, including considerable curiosity about women's history. The required reading was generally well received, though social history materials appear to have been more stimulating than those used by the American Empire group.

COMMENT ON MODEL 2

C. Warren Hollister

There is much to reflect on, not only in Jim Lorence's paper, but also in the other five. The authors present widely differing models, chronological versus topical, sweep versus depth, but there are also important points of agreement:

-- that memorization ought not to be a substitute for thinking;

-- that historical facts should not eclipse the scholarly process through which historians reach them, refine them, and debate them:

-- that relevance is vulgar and indispensable;

-- that the role and experiences of women should be integrated fully into the historical process, and not be victimized by the larceny of which Peter Gay speaks;

-- that elite groups should not be permitted to obscure what William Taylor calls the "view from below"; or to quote the lyricist Tim Rice, rebutting the great woman theory of history, "forgive me, Evita, fine as those sentiments sound, little has changed for us peasants down here on the ground."

Nevertheless, most of the papers, including that of Jim Lorence to which I am about to turn, assert or imply the necessity of what Kevin Reilly calls "cultural literacy," a most valuable skill without which one would be left baffled, for example, when William Taylor alludes in his article to such recondite things as Carthaginian and burying Ceasar.

Let me also congratulate the conference organizers for their boldness in selecting an historian who has spent twenty years teaching medieval history and Western civilization to comment on restructuring the American survey.

My colleagues in American history back at UC-Santa Barbara have never expressed the slightest curiosity (shown by the Annapolis conference organizers), about the fact that when I was studying medieval history back in graduate school in the mid-1950s, through some administrative muddle I spent three years as a TA in the U.S.

history survey. Oscar Hammerstein's sentimental observation that if you become a teacher, by your pupils you will be taught, is in my case directly on target.

Kevin Reilly drew back from contrasting history exams of the 1870s with those of today, but in the bold spirit of this conference I will contrast my graduate school U.S. history survey with what I will refer to as the Marathon model.

I am not going to identify my graduate school, except to say that it boasts a splendid center of medieval and renaissance studies, and over the years the best collegiate basketball program in the land.

Our U.S. survey, History VII, met in the 500-seat auditorium for two lectures a week, and for its third weekly meeting the class divided up into discussion groups of about twenty students each, taught by a staff of TAs of uneven expertise, so perhaps this pattern will not be unfamiliar.

Our reading consisted of a big fact-filled volume textbook by John Hicks, before he took up with George Mallory. The volumes were bright red. They taught me about such things as the Underwood Tariff, the Pendleton Civil Service Act, and the Peace of Paris of 1783, which was identified by students as the treaty that ended the War of 1812.

Smoothing over the Fiske controversy that was raging just then, because textbooks did smooth over rather than point out controversies, our textbook explained that the Articles of Confederation did have major weakness, but none that could not be rectified by amendments. It slowly dawned on me that the same could be said for the "Dooms of Ethelrod the Unready," the Hunnish Constitution under Attila, had there been one.

The class was packed year after year perhaps, because it was required. The students were, if not excited, at least docile. Those were the days.

On reading Professor Lorence's paper, my initial reaction was that some of the differences between my History VII and the Marathon model are a kind of modernization of terminology, rather than real change in substance.

What we used to call discussion sessions in the old days are now "student-center learning situations." Our old term papers become "independent research assignments." Our exam essays have become "evaluation instruments," which we, too, regarded as "valid tools for measuring conceptual understanding."

It was as true of History VII as of the Marathon model that discussion meetings "resulted in more spontaneity than is usual with the straight lecture format, and create a personalized learning environment." As a TA I would have heartily agreed that "the availability of graduate assistance increases the opportunity for inspired teaching to occur," though not all of my students would have concurred.

When I encountered the statement "a midterm evaluation stresses essay questions supplemented by identification items," I remembered 1812 and felt myself on familiar ground.

But, enough deja vu; there are also extremely interesting novelties in the Marathon model, the most fundamental of which is quite obviously the focus group approach. This idea, as Jim Lorence explains, is not altogether new, although certainly it never occured to the History VII staff.

The concept of core lectures with discussion groups that stress varied themes and topics and, therefore, do each in greater depth than otherwise would be possible is at the heart of the Kansas Plan, Charles Sidman's core satellite model, although the Kansas Plan has a preprofessional dimension. That is, satellite sections in the histories of law, medicine, business, and so on, which are more in keeping with the goals, perhaps, of Mr. Stearns' Carnegie-Mellon model.

We tried the core satellite plan, as we called it then, several years ago at UC-Santa Barbara. There was focus groups in a variety of special interests or preprofessional areas, such as the history of women, science, law, medicine, taught by TAs to students attending two general lectures per week, instead of the one lecture and two slightly different kinds of discussion groups.

Although the plan seemed promising, it disintegrated as a result of complex power struggles within our department. I am not going to go into the power struggles, unless someone is curious after the meeting. This fact should not be interpreted as prejudicial to the basic idea, which seems to me very promising indeed. It provides a balance between overall coherence and thematic specialization, and it permits the students to decide what is most relevant to them.

MODEL 3: Presenting History as a Policy Tool: An Introductory Variant for Preprofessional Students

Presented by: Peter N. Stearns,
Carnegie Mellon University

Professor Stearns proposed an introduction to history for preprofessional students. A catalog description of the model might look like this:

> *H11 State and Society in the West from 1650*
>
> *The development of the modern state and its social policies in Europe and America. Topics include demography, the family, welfare, economic stability, and police.*
>
> *H12 Applied History*
>
> *An examination of the problems and techniques of policy formulation with historical materials, followed by a case study in a particular area.*

The model follows, almost in its entirety, as presented by Professor Stearns.

This course is designed to give students an understanding of history as an active ingredient in the formulation of public policy. Two principal approaches are employed toward this goal: first, a history of the intersection between state and society in the Western world, from the preindustrial period to the present; second, an initial exposure to applied history, that is, the use of historical data and conceptualization toward the understanding and resolution of contemporary policy issues.

The course is best suited for students with strong professional interests, most obviously in law, business, or public administration. In the skills and methods of thought encouraged, if not primarily in the factual material covered, it could also suit students in the sciences, including premedical students. Inevitably, the course would best follow from a strong secondary school background in history, but it does not depend on this. The two segments of the course are separable, and could be used independently for students with different kinds of interests and backgrounds. Thus, the first semester offers a focused historical introduction to the modern state and modern society, and will be useful toward any general education program.

Thinking about this course has developed within the curricular context of Carnegie-Mellon University, which stresses a combined liberal/professional undergraduate curriculum with emphasis on problem-solving techniques. While it is tempting, in this environment, to urge an introductory history course that is highly humanistic, as a contrast to the central thrust of this undergraduate curriculum, in fact a historical approach that makes history a serious ingredient of the common effort is more successful with students and has won for history a larger place in a required set of introductory courses.

In suggesting such a course, I am tempted toward a number of apologies. While I believe that the first semester of the course captures a number of important ingredients of a good Western civilization course, and indeed updates it usefully by adding careful attention to social context, there is obviously much that is left out, topically and chronologically. I believe that for certain kinds of students and in certain kinds of curricula the compensations are satisfactory, in making history--historical data and a historical mode of thought--directly a part of preprofessional or prebusiness interests and training. This is not to argue that more conventional history does not already serve an admirable preprofessional role. However, an introduction to applied and policy history can firm up a department's claim to preprofessional relevance and to a realistic job orientation more generally. Even more, such an offering can help students themselves bridge any gap between their conventional historical interest and a more professional application.

Other possible problems with the course can be met by altering specific content while preserving the basic purpose. Nonwestern state/society material could be introduced into the first semester. Examples of earlier Western society could also be employed. Undue focus on the state, in the modern period, could be modified by dealing with problem-solving in the context of business, unions and other voluntary organizations. Specific topics in the second course segment can obviously be varied according to faculty expertise, available material, student interest; and indeed they should be varied as the definition of leading social-problem sectors changes.

A. Course structure:

Semester 1 - State and Society in the West from 1650.

Orientation: The basic theme of this segment of the course involves intersection between government and type of society. It covers a good bit of the ground of a conventional introductory political history course except that the focus is more exclusively on the functions of government in relation to the functions of other social units. Thus there is relatively little attention to such constitutional issues as divisions of power or to detailed chronological narrative. In contrast there is substantial consideration of social context, with emphasis on the transition from a preindustrial to an industrial society and the related change in the range of problems for which governments began to assume some responsibility.

The semester thus provides an understanding of the broad chronology of Western development through recognition of the change in the primary problem-solving institutions, in the (incomplete) movement from family and community to the state. An interdisciplinary orientation is provided for the problem-solving motif (which will help link this term with the next), and will be applied to an understanding of the various ways in which societies solve problems and adapt to new situations (or fail to do so).

The course begins with an effort to get at what functions a government has to maintain to be a government, and what functions a society has to maintain, via government or some other means. These themes are then moved into the preindustrial context, with reading in social history allowing students to realize how many social functions were set in family and community frameworks. Political theory is used in this section, and later, to illustrate how ideals corresponded to existing government/society relations. Emphasis on the period of the industrial revolution is on the strains placed on older social units by rapid social change and the related alternation in the functions of formal government. Consideration of liberal theory and cases of major social change (birth rate limitation) carried through independent of governmental policy (even contrary to stated policy) not only fill out the historical picture but qualify a too-easy assumption that governments moved smoothly into all possible policy areas. Nineteenth-century cases such as education and policing, however, do bring students to an awareness of major new state activities, and what these meant in terms of the operation of society. They also provide some key examples of the ways that new functions were determined, and the extent to which older social units linked with the new policies. The twentieth-century unit continues this exploration of the development of the modern policy framework, with emphasis on wartime military and on welfare functions. A major theme suggested by nineteenth-century materials--the extent to which governments respond to social change in modern society, the extent to which they initiate it-- can be explored more explicitly in this unit.

Use of American and European materials follows logically from the thematic emphasis and from the effort to establish a grasp of the changes necessary to produce a modern state/society relationship in Western culture.

An important part of the first semester's approach is a series of scaled exercises to develop skills and concepts that are at once historical and applicable to various kinds of professional activity. Skill goals include evaluation of evidence and ability to draw inferences from evidence, including use of some simple quantitative materials such as graphs and tables in order to identify change and define problems; ability to deal with causation; ability to deal with diversity of scholarly argument; ability to identify testable hypotheses and devise ways in which they can be tested against historical evidence; ability to apply conceptual material to real historical situations.

In summary this semester culls from political history a focus on evolution of the state that acquaints students with a periodization emphasizing key stages in the addition and subtraction of policy functions, and from social history a summary of dominant social-policy problems in each major period covered. This reflects the growing sense that an analytical approach to political history is particularly worthwhile, in combination with the more generalizable features of social history.

B. Content: Topic areas across periods

1. Demography

2. Family: Children, Women and Men

3. Welfare: Problems of poverty and dependency

4. Education

5. Economic Stability or Growth; Technology

6. Police - Order and Social Control

C. Units of the Course

1. Introduction and concepts - 5 sessions

2. Preindustrial Society - 9 sessions - 1650 and thereabouts - Europe and America
    a. Central problem of order and disorder
    b. Topics in B
    c. What role did government play in people's lives; loci of decision-making

3. Early Industrial Society - 16 sessions - 1780-1900
    a. Breakdown of older order - new opportunities and new problems
    b. Topics in B. Emphasis on massive change
    c. Response and Innovation - Diversity of new strategies

4. 20th Century - 15 sessions - 1900-1980
    a. 19th Century Solutions - what was retained into the 20th century?
    b. Accession of government as the primary problem-solver in the society. How did this happen?

D. Syllabus for 15 weeks (45 sessions)

I. Introduction of Conceptual Material

1st session

Open-ended discussion of how problems are solved in societies; how students see this as being done; what are the crucial problems in twentieth-century societies; and how students see them as being solved.

2nd session

Reading on problem-solving in general (with emphasis on societal problem-solving), innovation in the firm (as example of institution rather than individual) and application of this material to societies in general.

Reading: Select from John R. Hayes, Cognitive Psychology, Thinking and Creating (Homewood, Ill., 1978), chapters 12, 13, 14; Herbert Simon, Administrative Behavior (New York, 1976 3rd ed.), chapter 1; Richard Cyert and James March, Behavior Theory of the Firm (Englewood Cliffs), chapter 11, section 1.3, pp. 278-79.

Goal: Identify basic strategies and methods for problem-solving and innovation in societies--draw this from the students if possible, and show the relevance of this concept to modern society today.

3rd session

Case Study

Reading on a modern problem - probably energy with an emphasis on role of government in solution, role of individuals, other institutions. How do we define problems and how do we know when we have a solution?

(Other problems can also be used, with packets of material from current publications--e.g., crisis in steel industry, with various interest-group statements and Public TV film on U.S. steel industry, V. Bartlett, producer.) Problem of Uncertainty; Generation of Alternatives.

Reading: Sam Schurr, Joel Darmstadter, Harry Perry, William Ramsay, Milton Russell, Energy in America's Future: The Choice Before Us (Baltimore, 1980), chapter I. (The chapter focuses on the question of defining a problem.)

4th session

Lecture on historical inference--how to figure out what happened.

5th session

Read Josiah Royce, "The Struggle for Order: Self-Government, Good Humor and Violence in the Mines." (From Royce, California, from the Conquest in 1846 to the Second Vigilance Committee in San Francisco, New York, 1948 [1886]).

Exercise: How does Royce decide what evidence is reliable? What is Royce's view of human nature in the absence of settled government?

Discussion: What a society must do to achieve order; what a state must do to be a state.

II. Preindustrial society

1st session

Lecture on the feudal tradition; Western society with a weak state.

2nd session

Read More, Utopia. Discuss intellectual basis of preindustrial state; what functions could be envisaged, and in what fashion.

3rd session

Lecture on rise of national governments; absolutist and parliamentary alternatives.

Exercise: Using "Abstract of the Expenses of the late King James the Second," from Geoffrey King, and the "Summary of Revenues and Expenditures of All Governments," (Federal, State and Local) (U.S. 1976), outline the principal differences in function and emphasis between a contemporary American government and late seventeenth-century British government.

4th-6th sessions

Read Laslett, World We have Lost, pp. 1-149.

Discussion themes: How problems of economy, demography, welfare, education were defined in preindustrial society;

develop appropriate definition of stability. Possible weaknesses in handling perceived problems (e.g., bad harvests), as against Laslett's rather self-contained picture.

Exercise: What "problem areas" of this society were mainly a family responsibility? Go over the functions that a society "must perform," established in session 1, 5, and compare them to Laslett's conclusions about what a preindustrial family did.

7th session

Lecture on the role of the state in the late-seventeenth century; limits even of absolutism, but trend of growth of state.

8th session

Reading: John Demos article on Plymouth colony, "Notes on Life in Plymouth Colony," William and Mary Quarterly 22 (1965): pp. 269-86.

Discussion theme: New England as effort to reestablish family/community context for decision-making.

Exercise (optional): Compare the preindustrial American family and community with Laslett's preindustrial European family.

9th session

Reading: Langer article on "Europe's Initial Population Explosion" (excerpted, available in Stearns, Other Side of Western Civilization) and/or Stearns, European Society in Upheaval, pp. 59-82. Discussion on how major demographic change could come from combination of family efforts to resolve problems, with some governmental contribution.

III. Society in the Industrial Revolution

Emphasis on new limitations, even collapse of older "policy" structures and need and opportunity for innovation.

Sessions 1-4:

What kind of change? Nature of industrial society.

Reading: Stearns, European Society, Sections 4 and 5. New problems raised by industrialization; reactive power of older structures.

Session 5:

Adaptability of the family.

Exercise: What traditional family functions survived best, what least well in industrial society?

Reading: Michael Anderson, Family in Early Industrial Society.

Sessions 6 & 7:

The individualist response. Readings on Smith, Malthus, Bentham in Heilbroner, Worldly Philosophers.

Goal: See this intellectual response in terms of social/political setting. Discuss strengths and weaknesses, in theory, in the new individualistic approach to dealing with social and economic problems.

Sessions 8-16 State and Society

Sessions 8 & 9:

Tentative intervention: reading on child labor debates in Britain.

Goal: Discuss ways in which new state initiatives were first discussed, areas that the state might not take up.

Exercise: Construct exercise on using qualitative source materials, as on reliability of child labor evidence. Reading from Sadler Commission (various excerpts are available in source collections).

Sessions 10 & 11:

Policing

Reading: Sections of David Johnson, American Law Enforcement: A History, (1981); or Wilbur Miller, "Police Authority in London and New York City, 1830-1870," Journal of Social History 8, pp. 81-101.

What conditions called forth policing; what problems were to be solved; what problems were solved.

Sessions 12 & 13:

Education

Reading: Selection from Roger Thabault, Education and Change in a Village Community (alternatives would be selection from E. Weber, Peasants into Frenchman; or Peter Meyers, "Modernization of Education," Forum essay on nineteenth-century education).

Exercise: Discuss the nature of a peasant conversion to a modern educational system.

Sessions 14 & 15:

Demographic change

Reading: Tables on slowing of population growth in Europe and the U.S. Lecture on the causes and family implications of the modern demographic structure, discussion selection on interpretation of trends and the lack of state role in defining this particular "problem."

(Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the U.S., Colonial Times to 1970. [Bicentennial Edition, Part I, Washington, DC, 1975; Series A1-5, p. 8; series C89-119, pp. 105-109; series B5-10, p. 49.])

Session 16:

The State in 1900 in practice and theory; lecture.

Reading: Heilbronner on Marx and socialism.

IV. State and Society in the Twentieth Century

Themes: More definitive growth of the state as key policy unit. Extent of decline of alternate units (family, individual, etc.). Warfare, welfare, and economic planning (or sheer economic impact of the state, even unplanned), as principal foci.

Reading: (I must bemoan the absence of a really good text focusing on the development of the state in the twentieth century, without too much narrative detail. I have here chosen an accessible twentieth-century Europe text that has a sound analytical interest, taking sections that do not bog down in narrative; other texts could be excerpted similarly. I count on lectures, of the sort suggested, to tie the narrative to clear statements about the development of the state and its impact.) David Sumler, History of Europe in the 20th Century; Morris Janowitz, Last Half-Century: Societal Change and Politics in America (to be used also 2nd term); Stearns, European Society, sections 6 and 7; (possibly) Michel Crozier, The Crisis of Democracy: Report on the Governability of Democracies.

Sessions 1-4:

Role of contemporary warfare in shaping the contemporary state. Lectures on World War I, totalitarianism. Discussion on causal equation between war and growth of state functions; extent to which warfare redefines ends of state in addition to means.

Reading: In addition to relevant sections of the books for this segment (Janowitz, pp. 162-220; Stearns, pp. 276-288; Sumler, pps. 41-52, 80-87, 94-100, 107-115, 146-60, 169-83, 196-201), selection from Raymond Aron, Century of Total War.

Sessions 5 & 6:

Domestic growth of the states. Response to depression, with some U.S.-European comparison. Relevant reading in Sumler, above.

Exercise: Using materials on state expenditure from R. B. Mitchell, European Historical Statistics, chart a periodization of the growth of the twentieth-century state.

Sessions 7-9:

State and economy. Lecture on French planning versus German neo-liberal approach.

Reading: In addition to relevant sections of books for this segment (Stearns, pp. 304-10, Sumler, pp. 300-323 and 402-420), Heilbronner section on Keynes. How does the twentieth-century state define economic problems and what means are used toward their solution.

Sessions 10-12:

The welfare state

Exercise: Use Stearn (pp. 295-304) and Janowitz (pp. 123-63) discussions of the welfare state; Sumler, pp. 444-57 (on student revolt); and Allan Meltzer essay (Allan Meltzer and Scott Richard, "Why Government Grows (and Grows) in a Democracy," The Public Interest (Summer, 1978, pp. 111-118), to state the principal problems in defining the impact of the contemporary welfare state on society.

Sessions 13-15:

The state and the energy crisis

Reading: Use recent newspaper and periodical material.

Goal: Returning to problem raised in introduction, use this particular problem as means of summary of position of state and other policy actors in contemporary society.

OR

Sessions 13-15:

The range of state control and problems of initiative. Discuss areas of state control beyond specific economic, police, and military functions, the state as social mobilizer; the contemporary uncertainty about the state as problem-solver.

Reading: Janowitz, pp. 320-98; 443-490; Michel Crozier (sections to be selected in part according to policy problems to be emphasized in semester 2). This option is conceptually preferable, but best suited for sophisticated students.

Semester 2 - Applied History

A. Course Structure:

Orientation: The main point in urging an applied history offering at the introductory level lies in its role in training habits of thought that are genuinely historical but also sharply focused on the functions of a variety of policy occupations, in the private as well as public sector. Historians rightly emphasize, for example, the role of exposure to history in reducing sheer present-mindedness, providing some sense of the richness of the relation between present and past. An introduction to applied history can help focus this thought pattern or problems with which students will be living and, in many cases, working. To put the matter in the simplest way: an applied history course can provide an object lesson in how the historical sense can be an ongoing resource.

The principal purpose of applied history semester will thus be conceptual, a training in a manner of thinking and its direct application to issues relevant to an informed citizenry and potentially to further training and professional activity.

This said, the potential emphases and advantages of an explicit applied history component are as follows:

1. An emphasis on research skills that are relevant to a variety of jobs in business and government. A number of history programs are now picking up on the fact that historians are unusually capable of finding and organizing data; determining the existence of relevant studies; reconciling diversities in data and interpretation. The applied history segment will obviously stress these skills and their relationship to policy analysis. As a variety of policy areas become aware of the need for a strong dose of empiricism, where abstract models prove too general and/or where the range of (largely economic) factors susceptible to

the most rigorous modeling is too narrow, skills of this sort are not only marketable, but essential. They need explicit formulation, and a course that brings them to bear on a policy problem will help undergraduates grasp their ongoing utility.

2. A range of facts about current policy issues and their background. A number of important policy areas rarely are studied at the undergraduate level. Social science courses often brush by them in their concern for more general statements, or touch on them only as examples of larger bureaucratic or decision-making processes. History courses too often end too early--we all know that the decades just before right now are sometimes the area of greatest student ignorance, where textbooks leave off and personal experience cannot take up, yet we do precious little about it. Further, orthodox political history, even when applied to the recent period, too often adopts a purely narrative tone and is too often focused on partisan activity. It does not clearly isolate major current and prospective policy issues or encase them in middle-level generalizations that will link them to some sense of evolving governmental functions, political alignments or social processes.

Beyond skills and a factual framework, an undergraduate can be trained in the kinds of analysis that should be an important part of a sophisticated approach to policy issues. The student can learn to use and assess analogies; apply trend analysis; and place a particular problem in a larger context. Each of these features deserves brief illustration.

Seymour Mandelbaum has argued persuasively that policy makers naturally employ analogy with the past if not actually in the formulation of policy at least in its presentation and justification. Undergraduates can be given some training in the use and misuse of this device. For selected current policy problems they can trace roughly comparable past situations for applicable lessons and also for inapplicable features. They can also be offered a recent or not-so-recent history of the uses of analogy in actual policy efforts--the study of the invocation of Munich is an obvious case in point but there are others.

Trend analysis calls for judgment of the nature and direction of continuities and sometimes, through an assessment of operative causes, a basis for forecast. Again, students can learn to handle actual trend analysis and also deal with historical cases in which trends have been invoked (or in which they should have been invoked).

Placing a policy issue in context is a pious enough plea; it can have several dimensions. Most characteristically what is involved in an interrelationship between a particular policy issue and the broader social fabric. This can mean juxtaposing demographic or fiscal factors, that too often have been isolated in order to simplify a policy projection, with broader issues of popular behavior and values. It can involve an intertwining of economic factors with political realities, themselves often the product of older historical patterns that do not shift neatly in tune with economic change. Here is a major linkage of this segment of the introductory course with the first semester's work.

A unifying conceptual thread in all these policy uses of history is a firm sense of periodization. Analogies from the past must be tested against the constituent elements of the present, to see if what seems similar--in problem area, policy success, or policy impact--is indeed accurately transferrable. The assessment of context, though it involves a general effort to use historical skills to move from single-factor analysis to a broader, often partly qualitative assessment of reality, can be seen as an effort to determine differential rates of change. That is, factors in rapid evolution--such as population structure--may create a new need for policy, but they must be assessed against political and social realities that may be evolving more gradually or simply in more complex directions. Finally, trend analysis obviously involves a use of periodization to determine when a phenomenon currently in operation effectively began and whether the factors that initially propelled it are still in effect. In all these periodizations, admittedly usually applied to relatively recent history. is the key tool that allows generalization founded on empirical evidence.

The most important point is to insist that the applied history semester develop with an eye to conceptual learning. The unit will offer factual knowledge and empirical skills. But it must go beyond a purely narrative approach--history merely as background or a prologue. Students can learn how to approach the generalizations that can be and are used in policy work. They can learn how properly historical generalizations should be fitted into any package of models used for policy development. Only with this emphasis will they emerge with habits of thought that can have enduring function. Only with this emphasis can the admittedly evanescent quality of specific current policy problems be overcome.

Schedule

Week 1:

Introduction: Definition of applied history; examination of a major instance of efforts to use history in a policy area, such as the readily available collection, Violence in America, juxtaposed with Kerner commission policy recommendations in this area. For other introductory reading, see Casebook below.

Weeks 2-3:

The Role of Analogy

This unit will focus on a "gross" case of the use of analogy, the example of Munich in shaping post-World War II American diplomacy. Reading, Ernest May, Lessons of the Pass. The purpose would be not only to explore the hazards of analogy but also the inevitability of the use of analogy in policy formation and justification. (Similar cases could be explored in more strictly military policy, e.g., the French Maginot line strategy; see Judith Hughes, To the Maginot Line.)

This will be followed by Week 3 on "Appropriate" use of analogy--such an analogy in the pollution control or energy areas, allowing identification of factors which have led to successful environmental or engery policy in the past that can usefully be examined toward future policy determination. See Case Study materials on applied history [in *Journal of Social History*, Special Issue on Applied History, 14 #3 (June 1983)].

Weeks 4-5:

Comparative policy framework

This segment will introduce the uses of comparative analysis, while touching base with several of the topics covered in the first semester. Using the Heidenheimer article as a framework, students will consider the development of recent American and West-European domestic policy as alternate approaches to the needs of an advanced industrial society, and the historical reasons for the alternative choices. Further reading on American/European welfare policy or educational policy will apply the comparative point to more specific policy issues.

Suggested reading: Arnold S. Heidenheimer, "The Politics of Public Education, Health, and Welfare in the USA and Western Europe: How Growth and Reform Potentials Have Differed," *Journal of Political Science* (1973) XXX 15-40. This can be *supplemented on the "welfare"* side by Roy Lubove, *The Struggle for Social Security*. Or (my preference for this *section)*, on the education side by Joseph Moody, *French Education since Napoleon*, pp. 155- 206.

Weeks 6-7:

Trend, Continuity and Periodization

This unit will examine the sense of continuity in American domestic policy between the New Deal and the Great Society, and will include a brief political narrative. Focus will rest on the sense of continuity in the political rhetoric of the 1960s, in which policy seemingly could be justified by invocation of the New Deal example. The same focus will allow discussion of continuities and discontinuities in the identification of social problems, with reference to material on problem definition procedures in term 1. Reading on Great Society legislation will allow some assessment of the extent to which a sense of continuity not only justified but actually caused policy determination.

Reading suggestions: Morris Janowitz, *The Last Half-Century: Societal Change and Politics in American*, or *Social Control of the Welfare State*, or Sar Levitan, *Programs in Aid of the Poor.*

Weeks 1-7:

Will thus set a historical framework for recent policy issues, and, more important, will illustrate some of the uses and misuses of history in the policy area.

Weeks 8-11:

Current Policy

An examination from applied history perspective of two units that define current policy areas that had also been an important part of the Great Society approach previously discussed. Education policy, nutritional policy, and social security extension are areas from which these two units could be selected, with sufficient accessible policy and applied history literature. (See Case Study materials cited above.) Or appropriate faculty resources might suggest focus on topics in the diplomatic and strategic area. The purpose of each unit, after a definition of the current policy problems is to deal with the ingredients of the policy problems in their relationship to the recent past: i.e., whether the mix of factors that define the current problem constitutes a break from the past, requiring new policy initiatives, or whether substantial continuity remains, allowing the past policy framework to be continued. These units will also illustrate the need to develop historical understanding not only of past policy formulation but also of wider social factors such as demography, social structure, and cultural outlook.

Weeks 12-16:

This segment will essentially be a mini-course on a single policy area, for example air pollution control as a current future policy problem. The topic should be selected according to two criteria (in addition to instructor capability):

1) the problem must be definable in terms of current concern, and not simply an interesting issue historically; 2) there must be accessible source materials (often local) on both the policy side and the problem side, over a useful span of time, to permit a short research paper. The unit will include a definition of the current policy situation in its technical, social, and political aspects; a historical perspective on past policy (with reference to Week 3): historical definition of the current policy actors (that is, the political forces that principally shape current policy positioned in terms of their relationship to their own past policy direction and impact). Materials will be developed to allow specific discussion of various aspects of the applied history approach: when to begin one's historical framework, and the related issue of periodization since the inception of relevant pollution problems and policy; approach to the current problem by means of historical perspective contrasted to an economic modeling approach; and, utility of a comparative historical perspective (American contrasted to British policy). An opportunity should be built into this section for a short applied-history paper (in the case suggested, on a local pollution policy issue).

Final Remarks

Any effort to introduce applied history into the introductory undergraduate curriculum will encounter at least three general problems. First, the fact that few teaching historians are readily equipped to deal with courses of this sort, or at least will regard themselves as so equipped. Applied history calls on a number of key historical skills and habits; the applied history course suggested here utilizes a good bit of straight historical data. So the gap between what is here recommended and the abilities available is not unbridgeable. But there is innovation entailed in a serious introduction of applied and policy history, and the teachers involved should be aware of the need for some retooling--some new reading, but also some rethinking of established habits. Fortunately, programs and literature are increasingly available to encourage this process. And whether fortunately or not, enough history departments feel the need for new departures to encourage the retooling required.

There must also be more general concern about even a modest introduction of an "applied" component into history's precincts. A good applied history course, in its discussion of problems in a client relationship, for example, will confront some of these problems directly. The first semester of the introductory course already involves study of policy contexts in more remote areas and periods. Above all, the emphasis on key historical concepts, including that of periodization, is meant to avoid the lowest-level presentism. An applied history course is not simply seeking to draw students by a focus on issues of current concern, even though there is real education to be accomplished in this area. It is also working to persuade students that an approach to policy without real historical skills and concepts risks shallowness and ineffectiveness. Applied history in this sense is a vigorous effort to offer ingredients that are now painfully lacking in the policy area and among those undergraduates most likely to be drawn to this area.

Finally, at a more prosaic level, the increased attention to undergraduate applied history that I am recommending must confront the problem of materials. The case study approach helps circumvent the materials problem, and case study books will be available by spring, 1981; applied history reading already exists in a number of articles, for which reference is readily available, starting with the theoretical formulation of the field.

But there is no denying that instructors in the proposed introductory course will have some gaps to lament, and must plan a bit of start-up time in identifying materials for some segments of the course, notably in the final research component. Even aside from this final segment, instructors interested in developing an introductory course along lines suggested should be encouraged to communicate toward preparation of a set of readings in policy that would gather articles of the sort suggested above in a single collection, to supplement paperback books already available.

There is of course a certain amount of gimmickry possible in suggesting introductory applied history for undergraduates. An applied history course could pander to the worst kind of present-mindedness if it is not well done; it admittedly panders to the somewhat more excusable concern for professional future. Yet without teaching in this area we risk creating a needless gulf, in the student mind, between real history and the real world. Or we risk presenting that kind of recent history that approaches the present merely with strings of facts. without the analytical sophistication that the best history can offer. A recommendation that an introductory course be attempted is not a recommendation of ease. In its essence applied history is really trying to teach students of any level how to do policy analysis, how to deal with the multitude of factors that real policy analysis should involve, without finally losing the ability to act. Applied historians are trying to use history to increase wisdom, in an area that sorely requires it: through an introductory course they can share their goals with undergraduates.

DISCUSSION OF MODEL 3:

Purposes of History

PROFESSOR COOPER: Let me be contentious a bit. Would you say, or am I reading too much into this, that one of the things that is lost in this course, and the student body you have, is any challenge to the accepted values that they might comment on?

PROFESSOR STEARNS: Yes, I think that it is an element of concern.

PROFESSOR COOPER: Is there any way of addressing that?

PROFESSOR STEARNS: I don't accept it necessarily absolutely, but I do think that it is an accommodation as to approach, yes, and one could address it certainly by dealing with other kinds of issues that are addressed here, that is, issues that involve problems of political contestation.

I think it could be addressed, and I agree that it is not addressed in this case. But I think that it could be addressed within the framework.

PROFESSOR COOPER: I do appreciate a lot of what you have done here. I realize where it is coming from. Our student bodies are not that different. The parents do want practical results as fast as they can see them.

The problem, I guess, is that I am really troubled by leaving those people untouched, with a set of values which might blow up the world, to be very simple about it.

PROFESSOR STEARNS: I really have two reactions to that. First, I don't think that the approach is all that pandering. I would like to think that by training people who are mainstreamers pretty much, most of them anyway, to grow in their approach and utilize a more sophisticated set of tools, i.e., including historical conceptualization toward their professional endeavors, you may just marginally make them fit better and less likely to blow up the world.

Point two, I would come back to the notion that there could be certainly a more coherent effort to introduce certain other kinds of problems, basic issues, basic questions of their value systems.

I do think that the debate framework over the growth of the state, etc., is building more student understanding into the course, and I think that that should be noted as well.

I think that one makes a choice. I don't think empirically we have necessarily deflected some of the tendencies that you are apparently deploring with the kind of history we have taught here. Maybe one might have a shot at a process that is a little bit more tied to the problems that we are grappling with.

I don't dissent from your goal, but I would like to express simply that we want to reach those students.

PROFESSOR CHERRYHOLMES: How do you introduce criticism of contemporary institutions?

PROFESSOR STEARNS: Structurally, there are several segments that specifically encourage handling divergence of opinion that comes up, for example, in discussing the welfare state. So the notion that there is controversy there, I think, is quite clear.

In the second semester, where open policy issues are considered with historical perspective, one is dealing with issues that are frankly by definition open. They are not currently being solved. Therefore, I think you open at least the possibility there for considerable discussion of the validity of contemporary institutions.

If you address, for example, questions of pollution control, as a policy issue, and talk about how historical data, historical thinking, can contribute to a grasp of that problem, then I think you are not encouraging acceptance of contemporary institutions.

PROFESSOR HALSTED: Doesn't the opportunity exist, for any history course that has some content, to provide a basis for criticism of contemporary institutions?

PROFESSOR SUSMAN: I would think so.

PROFESSOR HALSTED: With a fairly clear-cut demonstration that past institutions which have been subjected to criticism have changed. I really don't see this as a problem.

PROFESSOR STEARNS: I do, and this is just because it is a valid comment on my approach.

I tried to hint at it even in my final comments. I think this will, of course, encourage discussion. I don't think it makes existing institutions sacrosanct. But I do think this particular course represents a choice that you are going to deal with a certain kind of student, and improve that student most effectively by not raising too many questions about that student's mental framework. I think that that ought to be said.

MODEL 4: Reading History: An Historical Classic as the Basis for an Introductory Course

Presented by John B. Halsted, Amherst College

Professor Halsted's paper on Amherst's now classic course, a single semester introduction to the study of history through a great historical work, follows almost in full.

Every introductory history course appears in a particular context. A judgment of such a course requires an understanding of that context. The course will have a place in a department's curriculum, and in the curriculum of the college or university where it is taught. It will be affected by the character of the institution, by the character of its students, and by the general conditions of the society of its time.

The course this paper describes was introduced by the Amherst College History Department in 1966. Amherst is a small liberal arts college with a student body then numbering under 1500. It has long possessed a low student-faculty ratio. It has had a long tradition calling for teaching by faculty members of all ranks in introductory courses, and of the use of small sections in such courses. The student body is highly selective and the students very able.

The late '60s, many of us will recall, became a time conducive to educational innovation, in part because of the increasing turmoil on the national scene. Students then were receptive to change, but also intensely critical of what was offered. It was a promising and exhilarating time to offer a new introduction to history.

The new course grew out of the curricular reform proposed by Amherst's Committee on Educational Policy in 1964. With the passage of those proposals, Amherst moved from a highly structured curriculum, wherein virtually the whole of the freshman year was required. to a new curriculum featuring three required interdisciplinary courses ("Problems of Inquiry"), one in each of the divisions of the curriculum. These courses were supplemented by strict distribution requirements. As a result, each department was instructed to:

> ". . . prepare at least one introductory one-semester course suitable for freshmen and introductory to the

> development of its subject for any student, whether a major in that department or not.[1]

The history department had for two decades previously been offering an introductory survey required for all freshmen. The course had served as the required introduction to the social studies division of the freshman core curriculum. Now the department was freed from this service function and was faced with creating an introduction to the discipline for both concentrators and for students fulfilling distribution requirements in history. The department's offerings were already arranged to present surveys in most periods and geographical areas. A revision of the old introductory survey. which had centered upon Europe, now became the European survey, along with American, Russian. and East Asian surveys.

The department determined to produce a new introductory course containing both clear methodological and general liberal arts elements. It established a committee in 1965, made up of Professors Fredric Cheyette. John William Ward, and the author of this essay, relying also in the final preparation of a syllabus on Professor Frank Kidner and his extensive knowledge of the French Revolution.

The committee proposed that:

> the emphasis of the course will be on the nature of, and certain problems in, the study of history and definitely not on the coverage of any particular span of time. So, it should serve both the needs of potential majors and non-department electors The probability is that it will be through this course that students will discover an interest in majoring in history, rather than the other way around--that we will have students in the course because they have already decided to major in history and so must take it.[2]

The department's former introductory courses had had large enrollments, and had depended heavily on textbook assignments. The committee wanted to break away from the emphasis on memorization and passive note taking such traditional courses tend to produce. The intentions of the committee are stated in a description of the course written for the AHA Newsletter in 1970.

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[1] Supplement to a report on the curriculum, The Committee on Educational Policy, Amherst College, May 1964, p. 9.

[2] Report of the Committee on the Introductory Course to the Amherst College History Department, October 6, 1965.

The course was not envisioned . . .

> simply as a course to promote professional skills, nor as a course to provide informational grounding for work in other departments such as literature or political science, as service course surveys are often expected to give. In planning sessions we attempted to resolve the question: "What can an introductory course offer to potential concentrator and non-concentrator alike which will be a meaningful and illuminating part of their liberal education?" Traditional courses left us dissatisfied. There are, of course, telling arguments for acquaintance with some portion of the sweep of human development . . . but there seem to be no overwhelmingly convincing reasons for choosing one period or area over others as the introduction to history, and all are likely to involve a dependence on textbooks which we hoped to avoid. The same may be said for "the problem approach"; criteria for selecting the problems remain elusive.[3] A course devoted to the analysis of documents seemed far too narrowly and

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[3] In a note to a department committee revising the introductory course in 1978, I offered this list:

"If we centered a course on topics we believed it necessary for students to know in order for them to cope effectively with their world, our list of possible topics might include most of the following:

cities--urban problems--urbanization
welfare--welfare state
resources--environoment--ecology--the age of scarcity
weapons control--disarmament
race--minorities (domestic); race--nationality (international)
population--food supply
feminism--women's rights
U.S. as power and symbol
Marxism, neo-marxism, Maoism, Titoism, revolution in the Third World."

On what basis should a choice among these be made?

professionally centered upon the promotion of technical competence since the majority of our students would never become historians. For them, an introductory course, we felt, should enhance the possibility of later self-education in history as they pursued quite other things--it should help them become competent amateurs.

One concern, then, was to provide an undistorted introduction to our discipline which would reveal it both as a craft and as one of the liberal arts. We believe we have found a satisfactory way to obtain some of the advantages of traditional courses while obtaining new coherence and quite new values. In the course as finally worked out there is treatment of a period (yet without requiring textbooks), consideration of problems and confrontation and analysis of documents, but all done in relation to the one activity we concluded had the fullest and most nearly equal relevance to all students of history.

All who pursue history in their post-college years. amateur and professional alike, have one activity in common: the reading of history books, and with this we determined to begin. In our introductory course we explicitly seek to educate our students in the critical reading of major works of history . . . .

We do not abandon the obligation to potential majors of introducing them to history as a discipline: but we do not, as often is done, make a central point of asking beginners, excessively conscious of their limitations, to learn the craft by confronting carefully restricted and structured documentary problems Instead, we let them see a skilled expert wrestling with the problems of formulating questions, tracking down evidence, testing hypotheses, etc. And, as indicated, we aim at a much broader range of student interests than the preprofessional. The pursuits of historians are displayed as intensely meaningful to some important thinkers--this is one way of emphasizing the persistent relevance of the study of history. The other way in which relevance is built into the course derives from the very quality of mind of the historians selected, i.e., the themes they treated prove inevitably to touch upon issues of permanent and universal human importance, and the greatness of their books may be defined as in part deriving from the fact that upon such issues they spoke to our present concerns. History is presented as a humanistic as well as a social scientific study.

> The new course is a one-semester elective, open to members of any undergraduate class, required of all history majors, and virtually required as part of any distribution sequence taken in history by a major in another department. As such, it is the introduction to history.[4]

The committee first obtained departmental approval on a catalogue statement to describe the new course:

> An Introduction to History. To develop in the student an awareness of what the historian does and what problems he encounters when he sets out to write the history of the past, the introductory course in history will consist of an intensive examination of different views of an important moment in history.
>
> Required for all majors. Majors or prospective majors are advised to take this course as early as possible.[5]

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[4] John B. Halsted, "Reading History: An Innovative Approach to the Teaching of Introductory History at Amherst College." AHA Newsletter, September 1970, pp. 15-20.

[5] Amherst College Bulletin, This remained the catalogue description of the course for four years. For another five, it was revised to include reference to the historical work to be examined; e.g.,

Introduction to Historical Study. The department's introductory course aims at providing instruction in the reading of history. The course centers upon a classic work of historical literature which treats an important era of history and which is especially suited to reveal the characteristics of the historians's task.

In 1970-71, the work will be Carl Becker's Heavenly City of the Eighteenth-Century Philosophers. The book is first studied in relation to earlier historians' treatments of the same subject, and then in relation to the life and times of its authors. The greater portion of the course is then devoted to studying the ways in which recent historical writing has dealt with several significant themes arising from the book.

Required of all majors. Majors and prospective majors are advised to take this course as early as possible. First semester. (Amherst College Bulletin, 1970-71, p. 130.)

The committee then proceeded to work up a syllabus on one "moment" for which there exists an important single text. It originally considered the following list:

"The Coming of the French Revolution," Tocqueville's The Old Regime and the French Revolution
Seventeenth-Century English Revolution, C.V. Wedgwood
Industrialism, Arnold Toynbee
Imperialism, J. A. Hobson
The Protestant Ethic, Max Weber

The committee settled upon the "moment" of the French Revolution, and as the core book, Tocqueville's Old Regime and the French Revolution.

> The choice . . . for the first two years of the course was influenced by a desire to have both European and American historians on the staff . . . . Tocqueville's classic fulfilled ideally the requirements we developed for such a core book. It spoke to the present, addressed issues of continuing historiographical significance. and it was possible to surround it with the other sorts of readings we wanted: for instance, samples of the controversies it provoked or was involved in were readily available, evidence actually used or of the sort used by Tocqueville could be put before the students, and most important, materials of an autobiographical nature, notes, correspondence, etc., related to the writing of the book were obtainable or could be translated and put in students' hands.[6]

The course was taught in small sections, usually of about a dozen students. There were only a few lectures, occasionally by a guest lecturer. In its first years the course met three times a week for one hour, in later years for two eighty minute classes per week. The staff held regular weekly meetings to assure coordination among the sections. Several papers were assigned, but no examinations given.

The syllabus follows. Apart from omission of due dates, it is given in full.[7] For greater clarity as to the staff's intentions,

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[6] AHA Newsletter, op. cit. p.8

[7] The course was designed so that other "moments" and core books might be assigned, while retaining the same syllabus format. Three further versions followed after 1968. See below.

I have interspersed[8] a summary of an opening lecture, some further passages from the Newsletter description of the course, and some comments from a report of the committee to the department. The most detailed explanations of the purposes of the parts of the syllabus and of particular assignments are taken from a sketch outline of the course the committee prepared for the staff that was to teach it in its first semester. In footnotes, I have noted some of the changes in assignments made over the years and included examples of the paper topics assigned. I have used the version of the course offered in its fourth semester since it incorporated the changes suggested by the teaching of the course.

Syllabus

An Introduction to the Study of History

The history department's introductory course is intended to reveal some of the complexities and some of the challenges involved in the disciplined study of the past. Instead of following such traditional approaches as the survey, or a sequence of historical problems, this course is designed as an intensive study of a major work of historical writing. One of the chief objects of the course is to allow students to experience some of the richness of implication such a work can provide. It is in part, then, quite frankly a course in reading, in learning how to read an historical work so that it will say the most that it can be made to say.

The course aims to accomplish this by first offering the book to be seen as the product of the mind of a specific historian in the context of his life and times. The book is further to be seen as an expression of the intellectual tradition within which it was formulated, and specifically of the discipline it exemplifies. The course therefore offers an introduction to the controversies the book responded to and those it has subsequently generated. In regard to a limited number of issues, the student can thus have an opportunity to see how historians have dealt with their evidence, how they have conceived of the problems they investigate, and how they achieve their conclusions.

The book is to be read, then, in an increasing variety of contexts, which should allow for an increasingly subtle and broad perception of it. A truly major work, such as Alexis de Tocqueville's The Old Regime and the French

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[8] These insertions are marked off by asterisks.

Revolution, (published in 1856)--the book which forms the core of the course--warrants such extended treatment, and will reward the effort to establish it in such a sequence of contexts. The book should be brought to all seminar meetings.

General Reference (on reserve)

Copies of R. R. Palmer, A History of the Modern World, will be on reserve throughout the semester and should be consulted for information on chronological detail, identification of individuals and events, matters of "general background." No assignments will be made in Palmer; the student should consult it whenever he needs information beyond that provided in assigned reading.

* * *

The purposes of the course and of its opening sections were further clarified in the introductory lecture. Students were also urged to attend closely to their syllabus' explanations of course assignments through the semester.

The lecture described the staff's effort to get away from traditional survey and problem courses. Here history is introduced instead in the books historians and amateurs read. Students see what historians do, although in their own papers they will of course sometime be doing historical writing, facing documents, etc. The course presents history books not as mere sources of information, full of nuggets of knowledge, but rather as sources of pleasure and of ways to feel about, to understand, judge and evaluate both the past and the present.

The primary task in the course is progressively to discover what the book, Tocqueville's Old Regime. . . says. The reading of such a major work of history also leads into related areas of concern. These are:

1) the author and his time;
2) other interpretations of the subject area of his book; and
3) more recent scholarship and speculation on problems raised in or implied by the book.

The lecture treated each point briefly.

First, as the students come to know Tocqueville's book. they also come to know the author. Even without prior biographical knowledge, reading a history book reveals the author behind it as an individual with questions to ask and to answer. As Walter Bagehot wrote,

> "Some extreme sceptics, we know, doubt whether it is possible to deduce anything as to an author's character from his works. Yet surely people do not keep a tame steam engine to write their books; and if those books were really written by a man, he must have been a man who could write them; he must have had the thoughts which they express, have acquired the knowledge they contain, have possessed the style in which we read them."[9]

Historians never simply recount events; they have something to say about them. Their accounts support or help demonstrate a thesis or contention about events. Each thesis or contention answers a question about the past, whether a specific question about what are "the facts," or a large interpretive question of an evaluative sort, e.g., about the relations of people to events in moral terms.

Historians have questions because they are involved in the subjects they treat. By studying Tocqueville's book, students come to know Tocqueville, and through studying his life and his era. they will see more fully how the questions treated in the Old Regime. . . reveal the nature of Tocqueville's involvement, and reflect his experience and speak to his times. The author's questions will usually differ from the questions students bring to a history book. Tocqueville's book was not written to answer the historical questions of twentieth-century American students. Students will find, however, that Tocqueville's concerns also transcend his era. If students understand the full implications of the problems Tocqueville pursued, they can meet him on his terms and fully understand the import of his book. They will find that Tocqueville is able to interest them as readers in both the problems he pursues and the answers he gives. This examination of Tocqueville's book is one example of a theme running through the whole course: how historians formulate their questions and what they think constitute answers to them, what they offer as explanation.

Students will also learn about the French Revolution, but the course is as much about how one can come to understand a period as it is about the period itself. In studying how Tocqueville and other historians have treated the French Revolution, students see that those treatments have differed as the historians' questions and explanations have differed. Students see how historians have come to criticize Tocqueville's views as well as how they have depended upon them. They see how views of the Revolution have changed because of the use of new evidence, or because old evidence is seen from new viewpoints--the result of the author's experiences, or of intervening historical events, or of the development of new concepts and new theories of historical change. Students therefore confront a variety of ways of understanding, judging, and coming to terms with an era both like and unlike our own, to which our own is linked.

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[9] Walter Bagehot, "Shakespeare--the Individual," in The Collected Works of Walter Bagehot, London, 1965, vol. I, p. 173.

Finally, the course will pursue persistent issues treated in or suggested by Tocqueville's Old Regime . . . ., e.g., the role of social classes or the impact of ideas on political events, and examine the ways in which more recent scholarship has dealt with them.

The lecture concluded by listing questions students should have in mind as they did their reading: How does the historian define or interpret his task? How does the historian get from the past as evidence to historical statement? What does he think he is doing? What do you think he is doing? How does he use his historical evidence? Does he describe the past or does he try to explain it? Would he make any distinction? Would you? In historical explanation, in generalization, in interpretation, what "patterns of abstractions" does the historian consciously or unconsciously employ? What explanation, historical or other, can you offer for the answers you have given to the foregoing?

* * *

OUTLINE OF THE COURSE AND SCHEDULE OF ASSIGNMENTS

Part I - The Relation of the Historian to his Work

A. The Book:

The course begins with a careful reading of Tocqueville's Old Regime and the French Revolution. The seminars scheduled for Classes 4 and 5 will be devoted to an initial discussion of this book. A short paper, to be assigned by the instructor, will be due for Class 4.

Schedule:

Class 1 - Organization meeting for entire class, in lecture room.

Class 2 - Class meeting in seminar groups. Begin the reading of Tocqueville's Old Regime and the French Revolution.

Class 3 - No class meeting; read Tocqueville's Old Regime and the French Revolution.

Class 4 - Seminar. Complete the reading of Tocqueville's Old Regime. Paper is due.[10]

Class 5 - Seminar. Discussion of Tocqueville's Old Regime, and the paper submitted in Class 4.

* * *

A committee report to the department that preceded detailed preparation of the course noted that:

> The first assignment in the course should be an intensive reading of the "classic" secondary work with an eye toward teaching the student how to read: what assumptions about history and human nature are implicit in the historian's reconstruction of the past? What kinds of questions come to mind as tests of the adequacy of the historian's views? What further kinds of information would one ideally want to have to test the credibility of the historian's interpretation?[11]

Later the committee wrote,

> The purpose of this segment of the course is to illuminate as many aspects as possible of the relationship between the work of history and its author. It is assumed

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[10] The first paper assignment asked for the student's initial assessment of the Old Regime. The paper was ungraded.

[11] Report of the Committee on the Introductory Course to the History Department, October 6, 1965.

> that this effort will progressively enrich the students' understanding of the book--of all that is said, implied, and unsaid in it--while exemplifying the complexities of an historian's beliefs, along with and incorporated into his learning and research--transforming all this into a work of history . . . . Here the students read and discuss the book, aiming principally at as sophisticated an understanding as is possible without detailed investigation of author and his milieu. It will end with the writing of a short paper expressing this preliminary experience . . . (with the) virtue of revealing what evaluative equipment the students enter the course possessing.[12]

* * *

B. The French Revolution as Interpreted by Tocqueville's Predecessors

Tocqueville's book should be viewed as a part of the ongoing debate which has continued since 1789, over the causes, the meaning, and the merits of the French Revolution. The impact of the Revolution was so overwhelming that generations of Europeans, especially Frenchmen, have felt a pressing need to come to terms with it. At the same time they were developing out of necessity new ways of understanding social change and the historical process. Assigned first are three authors (Burke, Paine and DeMaistre) immediately contemporaneous with the Revolution, who write interpretations of what were, for them, nearly current politics. The second assignment introduces a major historian of the Romantic era, a virtual contemporary of Tocqueville. Seminar discussion will treat the relation of Tocqueville's book to such studies.

Schedule:

Class 1 - Seminar. Read selections from Burke, Paine and DeMaistre in Church. ed., The Influence of the Enlightenment on the French Revolution, pp. 1-20; selection from Barruel (1799), Memoirs of the History of Jacobinism; selection from Mounier, On the Influence Attributed to the Philosophes (1801).

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[12] Committee on the Introductory Course, Sketch Outline for staff, February 29, 1966.

Class 2 - Selections from Michelet, *History of the French Revolution* (1847); Michelet selection in Church, ed., *The Influence of the Enlightenment on the French Revolution*, pp. 45-47.[13]

Seminar instructors will assign a paper either for this section (B) or for section (C).

* * *

The intention here is virtually self-evident. It emerges from the most characteristic expectation of historians, that we learn something of a phenomenon by examining it in its historical context; or alternatively that all human activities have historical contexts which may be important to our understanding of them. Specifically here, what should be revealed is what is to be expected, i.e., that Tocqueville's study of the Old Regime is similar to, and perhaps depends upon earlier treatments, *and* that old ways of looking at the revolution current in his time *are* transformed by him into a view which (while possessing elements already traditional) is nonetheless novel. Hence the two seminars will be devoted to obtaining clear statements of prior ways of understanding and of writing about the coming of the Revolution; in the first, immediate contemporary analytic responses; in the second, a sweeping impressionistic treatment from the period after the Vienna settlement. It clearly will be impossible to avoid beginning to compare these with Tocqueville's treatment. If a written exercise is here deemed necessary, it should ask for comparison of Tocqueville's book with one or more of the other assigned treatments, with a wide range of possible comparisons available: e.g., ... the use of evidence, the systems of causal explanation at work, the role of passion or of moralism in the author's work, the style, the importance of distance both chronological and geographical, etc., etc.[14]

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[13] Used in another semester--Carlyle, *The French Revolution*, pp. 3-14, 93-105, 109-115 (reserve).

[14] Sketch Outline, op. cit.

C. Tocqueville's Life

A major work by an historian is of course an expression (though often unconscious) of himself, of his life and learning. It reveals as well, again often unconsciously, his inescapable involvement in the vital current issues of his historical moment. We are fortunate that Tocqueville was remarkably self-conscious and remarkably articulate regarding these matters. First we read a brief biographical study in order to set him in his era. Then in Tocqueville's recollections of his participation in the Revolution of 1848, we see his own interpretation of himself. We are concerned above all with seeing how Tocqueville's career and his time helped to shape his book, and are revealed in it. Knowledge of the man and the book and the era will be seen mutually to interact, each increasingly illuminating the others.

Schedule:

Class 1 - Lecture - "France 1815-1856." Read G. W. Peirson, Tocqueville in America, pp. 1-22; Tocqueville, Recollections, pp. 1-26.

Class 2 - Seminar. Read Tocqueville, Recollections, pp. 63-116, 125-185.[15]

Class 3 - Seminar. Paper due.[16]

* * *

Here we attempt to cast light on the book by studying the author's career and the history of his times. The appropriate question to which this segment is directed is, "What do you see of the author himself in his work?"--though clearly a variety of formulations are possible, as for example the more specific, "In what ways is the book the work of an aristocrat?", etc.

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[15] Used in other semesters:

Cobban, History of Modern France, volume II, pp. 71-81, 93-112, 122 (middle)-129, 131-165 (reserve); J. P. Mayer, Alexis de Tocqueville, pp. 39-64 (reserve); Stanley Mellon, "Restoration and Revolution," in Chapters in Western Civilization, volume 2, pp. 55-72, 80-98 (reserve). Suggested: Selection from Augustin Thierry in Stern, ed., The Varieties of History, pp. 63-70 (reserve). Lecture: Tocquevile in America.

For the seminar on the Recollections (Class 2).

> . . . the student is given first Tocqueville's own evaluation of some of his most important experiences (ones which bear very directly upon the subject of the book) and his own estimate of himself, besides, incidentally, any number of immensely revealing comments upon history, social analysis, etc.[17]

* * *

D. Making the Book

In the case of Tocqueville's Old Regime, we have an unusual opportunity to see the process through which such a work comes to be produced. Not only have we materials dealing directly with the choice of subject, but we have evidence also of Tocqueville's refinement of the skills, techniques, and form of understanding which made the book possible. We discuss his first major work. the Democracy in America, which he prepared in the 1830s, along with some consideration of the sorts of models of authorship he emulated. Then we will

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[16] An example of a paper topic for sections B and C:

In the Old Regime, Tocqueville claims in a passage we have noted already in our discussion together, that he is "in a position to see this memorable event (i.e., the Revolution in France) in its true perspective and pass judgment on it" (p. 5).

Tocqueville's claim provide two possible perspectives on his book. First, the difference between his account and those which had gone before it; second, the relation between his "position" in 1856 and the Revolution.

Those two perspectives, however, converge on a common problem, which is the subject of your paper:

"What elements in Tocqueville's own life and moment in history seem to you to account for differences in emphasis between his account of the coming of the French Revolution and the accounts of other commentators on the Revolution who wrote before him?"

[17] Sketch Outline, op. cit.

follow him through his working out of the subject for the Old Regime, beginning with an essay on the French Revolution which he wrote in 1836, and then into the writing of the book itself. This part of the course concludes with the reading of a critical analysis of Tocqueville's book, and some theoretical treatments of the general question we have been concerned with throughout Part I, i.e., the relation of an historian to his work.

Seminar instructors will assign a paper on this section, due in Class 6.

Schedule:

Class 1 - Seminar. Read Tocqueville, Democracy in America, "Author's Preface to the Twelfth Edition," "Author's Introduction," vol. I, chapter XV, the opening section ("Natural strength of the majority in democracies"); the third section ("Tyranny of the majority") through the sixth ("Effects of the tyranny of the majority"); chapter XVI, opening section ("Absence of centralized administration"); vol. II, Second Book, chapters II-V.

Class 2 - Seminar. Read R. Aron, "Montesquieu" in Main Currents in Sociological Thought, chapter 1. (1966) pp. 13-56.

Class 3 - Seminar. Read Tocqueville, "Social and Political State of France before the Revolution" and Herr, Tocqueville and the Old Regime, pp. 3-63.

Class 4 - Seminar. Read Herr, Tocqueville and the Old Regime, pp. 64-135: selections from Tocqueville's "Correspondence and Notes"; selections from Lukacs, ed., Tocqueville's European Revolution and Correspondence with Gobineau, pp. 31-2 and note, 89-90 (section I "Jottings"), pp. 98-99, 143-146, 159-172.

Class 5 - Seminar. Read H. Stuart Hughes, History as Art and Science: Twin Vistas on the Past, pp. 1-21 ("What the Historian Thinks He Knows") and pp. 89-107 ("Is Contemporary History real History?"). Read C. Becker, Everyman His Own Historian, entire.

Class 6 - Seminar. Read Marc Bloch, The Historian's Craft, pp. 43-60, 100-104, 144-175.[18] Paper due.[19]

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[18] Used in other semesters:

Montesquieu in Introduction to Contemporary Civilization in the West, volume 1, pp. 1123-1139 (reserve); Aron, "Tocqueville" in Main Currents in Sociological Thought, I, pp. 181-232 (reserve); Bead, "Written History as Act of Faith" in Meyerhoff, ed., The Philosophy in History in our Time, pp. 120-151 (reserve); lecture, "Tocqueville in America."

[19] One paper assignment given here was: Your second paper, about 4-6 pages in length, is to deal with problems of objectivity and subjectivity in historical writing, drawing upon your reading in and about Tocqueville and other interpreters of the French Revolution, and upon the readings in Hughes and Becker which are directly aimed at this question.

You might wish to take off from some remarks of Herbert Muller's in The Uses of the Past:

"We cannot help having some philosophy of history, however vague or unconscious. So we might try to have a clear, conscious, coherent one . . . .

The ideal of history . . . is an imaginative reconstruction of the past which is scientific in its determinations and artistic in its formulation: . . . history is more genuinely scientific in spirit as it takes into account the reasons why it cannot be utterly objective or strictly scientific in method; . . . among these reasons is the necessity of dealing with a complex of factors . . . that cannot be measured, isolated in controlled experiments, or reduced to a single cause; . . . among these factors is the force of human will--of mind and character, ideas and ideals; . . . this force makes it necessary to pass ethical judgments on history . . . . Our scientific, esthetic, and moral interests call for a world view, a kind of anthropological study of civilization, as a perspective on our own civilization . . . . In this perspective we can make out universals, or underlying uniformities but cannot claim possession of the absolute truth about man and the universe . . . . This is not simply a depressing conclusion."

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> This segment allows, as no other does in the course, the possibility of treating "the historian at work"--conceiving of his project, shaping it, formulating questions, theses, etc., and treating of his evidence and the work of his predecessors as well. One advantage we have here is Tocqueville's acute self-consciousness regarding such matters.

These readings offer, first, selections revealing Tocqueville's intentions and concerns in his book on America, and, second (Class 2), a discussion of Montesquieu's work upon which the book was most frankly modeled. The subject here, then, is the kind of writing Tocqueville did before writing the Old Regime. On "France before the Revolution" (Class 3), ". . . discussion would be concerned chiefly with comparison and contrast of this early formulation of his views on the Old Regime and the Revolution with the book he later was to write." Tocqueville's "Notes" (Class 4) are ". . . assorted remarks revealing his working out of his topic, his method of study and writing, early formulations reworked or abandoned in the study, etc."[20]

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[20] Sketch Outline, op. cit.

Part II - Tocqueville and the Historians

> In Part II we will set Tocqueville's Old Regime . . . against the work of later scholars in order to discover how his hypotheses and conclusions, his leading conceptions and his investigative techniques, have been revised, refined or rejected. Whereas in Part I, we were concerned chiefly with the historian's subjectivity, here, centering still on Tocqueville's book, we see the historian engaged in testing hypotheses against evidence. We shall also have some opportunity to do our own testing.
>
> In Part II at least two short papers, on topics and dates to be announced by your instructor, will be assigned.

* * *

The second part of the course expands into problems raised by the book, to see how later students of the subject have treated them, and to see how historians have used new evidence or have used concepts and techniques unknown to or ignored by Tocqueville, to treat the same or similar materials.

The committee planning the course urged that the second part of the course should contain . . .

> an analysis of primary materials for which the historian's account is an explanation, so the student will have some basis for arriving at his own (limited) judgment. . . .
>
> Readings in the work of competing interpretations of the particular problem under discussion: this will depend, obviously, on the availability of other good secondary works beyond the "classic" text under discussion and is, perhaps, the place to emphasize the importance of selecting a problem sufficiently rich so that the student will always have as an assignment reading which is intrinsically worthwhile; in other words, no shoddy books simply because no historian has written well from some particular point of view.
>
> Each member of the faculty can provide from his own experience an example of a particular problem around which

> there has developed a substantial body of historical interpretation which will satisfy these criteria. The "point" to what we suggest is, by design, simple and basic. The student should have before him a problem and readings about it which will effectually embody the interaction of the multiple forces which are dynamic in any moment in history.
>
> Ideally, the readings will confront the student, implicitly or explicitly, with such essential matters in the study of history as the relations of present to past, the difficulty in assigning relative weights to various "causes." the importance of any one historian's frame of reference in making that assignment, the necessity to empathize, so far as one can, with the language and emotion of a moment in the past, and--always--the importance of critical reading whether of the historian's account or the primary material with which the historian must deal.[21]

In the sketch of the syllabus, the staff was advised:

> The first part of History 11/11s ends with the posing of one of the historian's classic problems: is it possible to write "objective history"? The second part will begin to raise a new series of problems, all of which develop from the assumption that the posing of questions by the historian may be the result of subjective inspiration, the hypotheses developed in this manner, but that can be and should be subjected to the normal standards of empirical verification.
>
> The . . . five subsections in Part II show how historians have either developed conclusions which Tocqueville came to in the Old Regime, or altered the way in which he formulated his hypotheses. The most general purposes of this section are to make the student more sensitive to the problems involved in selecting and interpreting historical evidence, to make him aware of the necessity to formulate hypotheses in order to give some sense to the evidence which he encounters, and to let him experience the tensions that develop as the historian checks data against hypothesis and hypothesis against data.[22]

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[21] Report of Committee on a New Introductory Course, op. cit.

[22] Sketch Outline, Op. cit.

Finally, from the 1970 description:

> We selected five (themes emerging from the book): the role of social classes, the role of bureaucracy, the influence of economic affairs, the influence of ideas as a causal factor in the French Revolution, and the Revolution as a religious movement. Where we could, we had the students confront samples of evidence of the sort Tocqueville and subsequent historians have used. We tried to exemplify the development of techniques, hypotheses and concepts in the five topics we treated, though naturally in each case with different emphasis and with some different purposes.[23]

* * *

A. Administrative Centralization and the Problems of Bureaucracy

One accompaniment to the increasing democratization of his society which Tocqueville most stressed was administrative centralization. He saw it as vital to the coming and the course of the Revolution, as crucial to the character of French society in his own day, and to the shape of Western society in the future. It is a concern of Tocqueville's which has continuing relevance. The first readings present Tocqueville's view of local government in America; next we will test Tocqueville's view of administration in the Old Regime against evidence of its working. and see a modern historian's view. For the third and fourth seminars, we consider the theoretical study written by the sociologist, Max Weber, at the end of the century, and a present-day political scientist's conceptualization of the issues of freedom and bureaucracy.

Schedule:

Class 1 - Seminar. Read Tocqueville, Democracy in America, vol. 1, chapter IV, entire; chapter V, through eighth section ("The administration of government in New England"); concluding section of chapter V ("Political effects of decentralized administration. . ."): chapter VIII, eighth section ("In what the position of a President differs from that of a constitutional King of France").

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[23] AHA Newsletter, op. cit. p. 18.

Class 2 - Seminar. Read Mendenhall, Select Problems, Europe 800-1715, pp. 308-322; Dorn, Competition For Empire, pp. 1-35.

Class 3 - Seminar. Read Weber, "Bureaucracy," in From Max Weber, pp. 196-228.

Class 4 - Seminar. Read Weber, "Bureaucracy," in From Max Weber, pp. 228-244; and selection by Julian Franklin in Man in Contemporary Society, vol. I, pp. 934-948.[24]

* * *

Subsection (A) develops from Tocqueville's concern over the growth of an increasingly democratic society (Class 1). The main purpose of the assignment is to isolate an element in Tocqueville's analysis of the basic problems of modern society and to show its continuing relevance. In working toward this goal, however, we also have an opportunity to check Tocqueville's conclusions against independent evidence and to develop different ways of conceptualizing the problem which so overwhelmed him.

The (second) day's reading makes students assess Tocqueville's generalizations about royal absolutism. Using their knowledge of the social structure of eighteenth-century France, they can also judge his description of the "democratic" features of the society of the Old Regime. The reading in Dorn (Class 2) gives them a good independent evaluation of the problems by a modern expert.[25]

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[24] Used in other semesters:

Lectures, "Local Government in France, England and the United States," "The Administration of the Modern State." Selection from Mill, "Representative Government," "On Liberty" in Introduction to Contemporary Civilization in the West, pp. 39-44, 148-156 (reserve), Nisbet, Quest for Community (Community and Power in paperback edition), pp. 98-113, 140-175, 189-211, 248-284 (reserve).

The remaining readings carry the theme forward into the twentieth century.

* * *

B. Class Relationships

The concept of "social class" was of central importance to Tocqueville, as it is to virtually all students of society. We begin with Tocqueville's own views, and the evidence in Moliere's play, which should allow the beginning of a definition of the class structure Tocqueville described. We move then from the views of Marx, in Tocqueville's own day, to the works of Elinor Barber and Franklin Ford. These are treatments of class and social stratification, in the period of the Old Regime, by present-day historians, making more explicit some of the problems of the study of classes. The reading from Max Weber is a theoretical formulation--by Europe's greatest sociologist of the early twentieth century--which carries the problem to a yet higher degree of abstraction.

Schedule:

Class 1 - Seminar. Read Tocqueville's "Notes"; Lukacs, ed., Tocqueville's European Revolution and Correspondence With Gobineau, pp. 68-79, 92-96, (section 8); Moliere, Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme.

Class 2 - Lecture: "Marxist Class Theory." Read section I of "Communist Manifesto," in Introduction to Contemporary Civilization in the West, II, pp. 389-400.

Class 3 - Seminar. Read E. Barber, The Bourgeoisie in 18th-Century France, pp. 1-75.

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[25] Sketch Outline, op. cit.

Class 4 - Seminar. Read E. Barber, *The Bourgeoisie in 18th-Century France*, pp. 76-147.

Class 5 - Seminar. Read F. Ford, *Robe and Sword*, pp. vii-x, 22-29, 32-34, 66-76, 202-221, 246-252.

Class 6 - Seminar. Read M. Weber, "Class, Status and Party," in *From Max Weber*, pp. 180-194.[26]

* * *

In the study of social classes, we were especially concerned for the employment of social science concepts in historical study. Using Moliere's *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* as exemplary evidence, we had the students read as their comparison and supplement to Tocqueville's views selections from Marx and Weber and the recent studies of social classes by Elinor Barber and Franklin Ford.[27]

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[26] Used in other semesters:

Barrington Moore, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, pp. 40-110 (reserve); Cahiers in J. H. Stewart edition, *A Documentary Survey of the French Revolution*, pp. 64-84 (reserve)

A typical paper topic assigned at this point asked:

In the light of Tocqueville, Marx, Barber, Ford, and Weber (or several of them) write a critical comment on the concept of class and its usefulness in understanding the coming of the French Revolution, as found in *one* of the following:

Alfred Cobban, *The Social Interpretation of the French Revolution*, chapters III, IV, V (reserve)

Leo Gershoy, *French Revolution and Napoleon*, chapter II (reserve)

"Class in the French Revolution," *American Historical Review*, January 1967

Chas. D. Hazen, *The French Revolution*, volume I, Chapters III and VII (reserve).

[27] *AHA Newsletter*, op. cit., p.19

Notes for the staff pointed out that students were to be led to see the importance of the concept of social class for the historian.

> Subsection (B) takes as its point of departure Tocqueville's dictum that the historian's business is the study of social classes . . . .
>
> The readings begin with selections from Tocqueville's notes and sketches which can serve to refresh the student's memories and to let them see how Tocqueville raised the problem. The *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* is included as a "primary source" which will allow students to begin to define the structure of French society under the Old Regime, and to describe the values and styles of life of the various classes in eighteenth-century France. Elinor Barber's little book (Classes 3 and 4) applies the theory of social stratification to the Old Regime and makes some of the matters dealt with in earlier readings more explicit. The Weber reading (Class 6) carries (further) the problem of defining social classes and assessing their functional importance . . . .[28]

* * *

C. Economic Analysis

In this brief section, we consider a problem Tocqueville dealt with comparatively briefly, i.e., economic conditions prior to the Revolution. We will study a variety of efforts to deal with the relationship between economic developments and social change.

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[28] Sketch Outline, op. cit.

Schedule:

Class 1 - Lecture: "Problems in the Study of Economic History." Read Tocqueville, "Notes"; Lukacs, ed., Tocqueville's European Revolution and Correspondence with Gobineau, pp. 80-83; Ralph Greenlaw, Economic Origins of the French Revolution, pp. 16-23, 49-72, (for Taine, See and Labrousse).

Class 2 - Seminar. No further assignment.[29]

* * *

The topic on economic affairs opened up a methodological discussion of economic analysis in historical writing, and allowed students to assess something of the importance of new types of historiography developed since Tocqueville's day.[30]

This brief

. . . subsection (C) shows students how historians try to describe conditions in the past when data is often unavailable or skimpy. The readings begin with another selection from Tocqueville's notes which deal with the problem. This section becomes rather technical and there is little opportunity to present students with evidence that is easily understandable without special training.[31]

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[29] Used in other semesters:

Lefebvre, "The Movement of prices and Origins of the French Revolution in Kaplow, edition, New Perspectives on the French Revolution, pp. 103-135 (purchase); Landes, "The Statistical Study of French Crises" (mimeographed).

[30] AHA Newsletter, op. cit., p. 19.

[31] Sketch Outline, op. cit.

D. The Role of Ideas in Preparing the Revolution

Though Tocqueville only briefly treats the influence of the philosophes and of Enlightenment thought upon the Revolution, it is clear that from the days of Burke on, the issue as to their causal influence had been posed, and that it has remained a central problem in interpreting the Revolution. The assigned readings make explicit not merely the specific issue but also the more general theoretical question of the causal effect of ideas upon the historical process. We read first in the leading philosophe, Voltaire, especially selections relevant to the interpretation offered in Peter Gay's recent study, which argues counter to Tocqueville's view of these writings as "abstract and literary." Then we turn to Rousseau, and his influence especially upon Robespierre and the Terror, a question still subject to sharp controversy, as the readings from Peyre, Cobban and Soboul reveal. The prior selections from Rousseau, Robespierre and the "Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen" give us some basis for assessing these modern scholars' views.

Schedule:

Class 1 - Seminar. Read selections from Voltaire, Lettres Philosophiques and Dictionnaire Philosophique.

Class 2 - Seminar. Read Peter Gay, Voltaire's Politics, pp. 3-40, 48-87, 309-340.

Class 3 - Lecture: "Method in the History of Ideas." Read H. Peyre, "The Influence of Eighteenth-Century Ideas on the French Revolution," in Church ed., The Influence of the Enlightenment on the French Revolution, pp. 88-101.

Class 4 - Seminar. Read Rousseau, The Social Contract, pp. 2-47, 51-63, 75-79, 82-117, 138-140, 146-153, 162-65, 204-23.

Class 5 - Seminar. Read "The Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen," and Robespierre, in Introduction to Contemporary Civilization in the West, vol. II, pp. 1267-1269, 1272-1277.

- Class 6 - Seminar. Read Cobban, "The Fundamental Ideas of Robespierre" and "The Political Ideas of Maximilian Robespierre during the Convention" and Soboul, "Popular Classes and Rousseauism during the Revolution."

* * *

The role of Enlightenment ideas in the causation of the French Revolution was presented as an issue of persistent historical controversy. It offered opportunity to exemplify new research techniques, such as the recent efforts to get at the opinions of the sans-culottes.[32]

The staff was given an extended commentary:

> The basic purpose of this subsection is to examine the nature of the political and social thought of the Enlightenment and to determine what historians mean when they say that the ideas of the philosophes "caused" the French Revolution. Thus it raises two basic questions which concern the historian: to what degree do ideas affect political and social conditions and what do historians mean when they say something "caused" something else?
>
> . . . Students are first allowed to examine a set of original sources and to try to make some sense out of them without auxiliary aids. They are then given some commentaries which raise the problems set for them in a more explicit manner. The first group of readings. . . start from Tocqueville's judgment on the basic qualities of the Enlightenment which he summarized in the phrase, "abstract and literary politics" (Old Regime, p. 139). This judgment is chosen by Peter Gay as the beginning for his reexamination of Voltaire's political thought. Students first reading (Class 1) the selections from Voltaire (which have been chosen, in part, to correspond with Gay's analysis) can try to understand what Tocqueville meant by "abstract and literary" and to see if one can conceive of different ways of explaining the tone and content of (Voltaire's) writings. . . . Gay's analysis (Class 2) will sharpen some of the questions raised in the previous seminar.

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[32] AHA Newsletter, op. cit., p. 19.

The Rousseau reading (Class 4) presents a political and social program drawn up under the Old Regime. Students are asked to analyze it and to see if the "Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen" and Robespierre's speech (Class 5), both considered as articulations of revolutionary policy, seem to be drawing on the Social Contract as some sort of blueprint for revolutionary action. The next group of readings (Class 6) examines this problem explicitly. The first Cobban article tries to describe Robespierre's basic political ideas and the second shows how they were modified by his responsibilities as a leader of the montagnard "opposition" and as a member of the government during the Year II. The Soboul articles discuss the diffusion of Rousseauism throughout the Jacobin "elite" and among the "people" . . . .

(These) readings . . . do not develop from a point specifically raised by Tocqueville (though they do, certainly, deal with a problem which was of concern to him) . . . : the question of the influence on the Revolution of philosophie in its Rousseauist form is certainly more hotly debated today than the influence, say, of Voltaire, and these readings allow us to deal with the problems raised in this subsection in a . . . focused and precise manner.[33]

* * *

E. The Revolution Considered as a Religious Movement

This section, closely related to Section D, begins with Tocqueville's statement that the Revolution is best understood as a religious movement. We can test this hypothesis and criticize its formulation by studying relevant documents and examining some of the controversy among historians on this point.

Schedule:

Class 1 - Seminar. Read Lukacs, ed., Tocqueville's European Revolution . . . , pp. 101-102, 112-116; Crane Brinton, The Decade of Revolution, pp. 142-163; Soboul, "Religious Sentiment and Popular Cults during the Revolution: Patriot Saints and Martyrs of Liberty" in Kaplow, ed., New Perspectives on the French Revolution, pp. 338-350.

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[33] Sketch Outline, op. cit.

Class 2 - Seminar. Read "Documents on French Foreign Policy."[34]

* * *

The treatment of Tocqueville's idea of the Revolution as a religious movement raised major issues in the diplomatic history of the Revolution as well as a most significant and puzzling problem of conceptualization. In (this) topic . . . we used both foreign policy documents, and Albert Soboul on popular religion during the Terror.[35]

Specific assignments were described as follows:

This subsection is closely related to the previous one. In it we are interested in testing the hypothesis that the Revolution is best thought of as a religious movement. Our starting point is Tocqueville's famous formulation of the problem. (Old Regime, pp. 10-13.)

The reading (Class 1) focus primarily on the question of whether or not French partisans of the Revolution behaved like religious zealots . . . . Soboul analyzes the nature of popular cults during the Revolution to see if they fit into contemporary modes of religious expression.

The selection of documents on French revolutionary foreign policy is intended to give the student some means of deciding for themselves whether or not the revolutionaries were of necessity committed to "missionary" activities among all mankind.[36]

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[34] Used in other semesters:

Speeches by Brissot and Robespirre (mimeographed); letters exchanged between Professors Gay and Brinton (mimeographed); Cobb, "Some Aspects of the Revolutionary Mentality," in Kaplow, edition, New Perspectives on the French Revolution, pp. 305-337 (purchase).

[35] AHA Newsletter, op cit., p. 19.

[36] Sketch Outline, op. cit.

F. A Recent Synthesis

We conclude the course with the reading of a very recent study which is rapidly attaining the same status as a classic that Tocqueville's book achieved. The recent study is George Lefevbre, The Coming of the French Revolution. You are also asked to read in Walsh, The Philosophy of History to carry further the historiographical and methodological emphases of the course.

Schedule:

Class 1 - Seminar. Read Walsh, The Philosophy of History, chapter V.

Class 2 - No classes. Read Lefebvre, The Coming of the French Revolution.

Class 3 - No classes. Read Lefebvre, The Coming of the French Revolution.

Class 4 - No classes. Read Lefebvre, The Coming of the French Revolution.[37]

In lieu of a final examination, students will prepare a paper due at the end of the semester.[38]

The assignment topic and due date will be announced.

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[37] Used in other semesters:

Walsh, The Philosophy of History, chapters I-IV: Selections from Fritz Stern, The Varieties of History and Hans Meyerhoff, The Philosophy of History in our Time (both on reserve).

[38] The final paper was a critical examination of Lefebvre's book, making some comparision to Tocqueville's work.

BOOKS TO BE PURCHASED

Students should purchase the following books at the Jeffery Amherst Bookshop:

Alexis de Tocqueville, The Old Regime and the French Revolution, Anchor

W. Church, ed.. The Influence of the Enlightenment on the French Revolution, Heath Problems

Richard Herr, Tocqueville and the "Old Regime," Princeton

Moliere, Eight Plays, Modern Library College edition

J. Gerth & Mills, eds., From Max Weber, Oxford Galaxy

Peter Gay, Voltaire's Politics, Vintage

Georges Lefebvre, The Coming of the French Revolution, Princeton UP

Ralph W. Greenlaw, The Economic Origins of the French Revolution, Heath Problems

H. Stuart Hughes, History as Art and Science: Twin Vistas on the Past, Harper Torchbook

Carl Becker, Everyman His Own Historian, Bobbs-Merrill Reprints in European History. H-18

J. J. Rousseau, The Social Contract, Gateway

W. H. Walsh, Philosophy of History, Harper Torchbook

Elinor Barber, The Bourgeoisie in 18th-Century France, Princeton

F. Ford, The Robe and the Sword, Harper Torchbook.

* * *

The course was developed through three later versions. First, from 1968 to 1970, the topic was the Renaissance and the core book was Burckhardt's great history. In this version of the course, we introduced such changes as . . .

> the replacement of the writings of such theorists as Becker and Hughes at the end of Part I with use of Burckhardt's own Force and Freedom and essays by modern theorists on the problem of periodization; . . . and in default of a work comparable to Burckhardt's Renaissance to play the role of concluding the course which Lefebvre's book played before, we . . . ask the students to do a paper on Machiavelli and Cellini.[39]

Part II included topics on family and social class, economic activity, humanism, art and demography. Burckhardt's own historiographical concerns offered great opportunity to treat historiographical topics, and in the syllabus we made even more explicit than heretofore the epistemological issues under consideration.[40]

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[39] AHA Newsletter, op. cit., p. 20.

[40] For example, from the syllabus:

Part II - The Historian and his Evidence:

Burckhardt was an historian of the nineteenth century. But he was writing about the Italian Renaissance. Like all historians, he had to face the evidence. Whatever his general ideas about culture and society and about the general nature of historical development, in his book the Civilization of the Renaissance he sought to paint a picture in words of a particular time and place, as it was. Whatever particular statements he made had to be based on evidence from that time and place. For the remainder of the course, we will be concerned with the evidence. Our problem will be threefold: What does the evidence say? How do we know that our answer is true? Once we are certain it is true, what judgments can we legitimately make on the basis of the evidence? And, in particular, can we legitimately make the kind of judgments Burckhardt makes in the Civilization of Renaissance? . . .

VII - Family and Social Class in Political Life:

Burckhardt's remarks about the role of despotic families in Italian Renaissance politics, and the role of "parties" and social classes in the Republics, remarks based, at least in part, upon the stories told by Matarazzo and Machiavelli, provide us with a starting point for a deeper analysis of our evidence. What were the connections between family, class and political power in Renaissance

In 1970 the topic of the course became the Enlightenment, the book Carl Becker's The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth-Century Philosophers. Becker's writings on historiography and the philosophy of history played an important role in this version. One major object of this course was the introduction of students to the varieties of intellectual history. Finally, the last version of the course (1972-1975) centered on the medieval peasantry and Marc Bloch's French Rural History. Bloch's views in The Historian's Craft and the ideas of the Annales school were combined with the new perspectives of social history (including its quantitiative emphasis) in the study of peasant culture.[41]

Italy? Was this a significant relationship? Should it be included in any generalized description of the "Renaissance"? Before we can answer these questions, we must decide how to define "status" and how to discover criteria of social status in our evidence. Bernard Barber presents a sociologist's answer to these questions. In two seminar meetings, we will first try to apply the criteria Barber suggests to the evidence we have already read, and to the memoirs of a Florentine nobleman who lived around 1400. We will then see in the work of Lauro Martines the result of a systematic application of such criteria to a large body of evidence. Does the picture you draw from these materials and the picture Martines draws match the picture presented by Burckhardt? If not, why not?

[41] The department discussed as possible versions of the course a large number of other books and topics. Mentioned above are Toynbee and the Industrial Revolution; Weber and Protestantism and Capitalism, and Hobson and Imperialism. Other possibilities considered were: Gibbon and Rome; Pirenne and the Early Middle Ages; Huizinga and the Late Middle Ages; Wedgwood and the English Revolution; Trevelyan and 1688, Voltaire and the Age of Louis XIV; Halevy and nineteenth-century England, Marx and Capitalism; E. H. Carr and the Russian Revolution; Meinecke and the Rise of Nazism. A detailed proposal was worked up on R. H. Tawney and Protestantism and Capitalism.

It is difficult to assess the "success" of the course here described. The Amherst College History Department has no formal system for regular evaluation of courses. On the whole, enrollments stayed fairly steady: the Burckhardt and the Marc Bloch versions were perhaps less popular than the Tocqueville and Becker versions. This may be because the subject matter of the Burckhardt and Bloch versions is more remote from student concerns, and the two books are rather more dense and inaccessible than are Tocqueville's and Becker's. Students representing the majors in department meetings favored the department's retaining the course in its curriculum. Reports in the student publication assessing current courses showed a real understanding of the purposes while reflecting the varying response to the different versions.

There was evidence that some students were not fully comfortable with the fact that the course was concerned for both content and method, for the past and how it is dealt with. Students' responses to the course appeared to depend upon their recognizing that they were not taking a traditional history course, and their readiness to break out of old habits.

While it existed, the course aroused wide interest. Partly because of the description of the course in the AHA Newsletter, the department received more than forty inquiries and requests for syllabi. Three institutions reported attempts to build similar courses.

After 1972, the course became the second part of a two-course introduction. In the first semester, the department offered a new course in comparative and cross-cultural history. The course described here continued for three more years to be required of all majors, to be taken before the end of the sophomore year.

When the department decided to make these changes, it expressed two chief concerns. Some members of the department argued that the methodological bias of the course made it more suitable for upper-class students, who had already taken work in history at the college level: hence the course became the second of the introductory sequence. Further, it was felt that centering upon classic histories lent an Atlantic emphasis to the course that some felt to be parochial; hence the cross-cultural comparative course was introduced.[42]

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[42] A criticism of the course submitted to the AHA Newsletter took issue over the course's lack of stress on nonreading techniques

Only in 1975 did the department finally replace this course with one that concentrated upon a "moment" (the Cold War) rather than upon a major classic work, while retaining the methodological emphasis by stressing the divergent interpretations of its subject. The course had had a nine-year run, a good record for such an enterprise, and could be looked on as a generally successful experience. But such a course may not be equally suitable to all times and all places. The context at Amherst that had helped produce the course had changed. In 1976 the curriculum centering upon problems of inquiry and distribution requirements ended and major new curriculum arrangements were not instituted until 1978. Colleges, in general, were faced with increased costs for permissions and for duplication, and such costs were more generally borne by the student than by the college. Cost of books for purchase had risen sharply, and publishers ceased to list a number of classic histories.[43] As student-faculty ratios were increased, fewer small classes were possible. It may also be the case that students in recent years were becoming less receptive to innovation than were their predecessors.

An introductory course is likely to emphasize either the information the teachers want the students to know, or those skills the teachers want the students to acquire. By building its course around the reading of history, the history department felt it resolved some of the major problems of balancing between these two goals. This course introduced students to the epistemology of historical study, showing how historians in fact do their work, while simultaneously introducing students to a major historical epoch or topic.

The focus on the reading of a major historical work helped to give the course a clear and intelligible organization and simplified the task of preparing the syllabus. The process of learning students underwent closely resembled that which historians actually go through. They moved out from the object of study, the book, to its context and to its subject. Students studied the history of the production of the book, and learned how its contents could be

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and nonliterary documents. In fact, use was made in various versions of the course of e.g., art, in the Burckhardt version, or of quantitative studies, in the Bloch version where students engaged in a computer project. See the letter by Melvin E. Levison and my reply, AHA Newsletter, January 1971, pp. 18-20.

[43] A significant exception is the University of Chicago Press. which has been producing a series of works of great European historians, edited by Leonard Krieger, and histories of Britain, edited by John Clive.

historically explained. They studied its implications and its relationships to a variety of contexts, both historical and theoretical, and compared it with other treatments of the same subject. By this process, students were able to return to the book with increasingly sophisticated ways of illuminating and understanding both the book and the subject it treats. Similarly, historians move out from an initial object of study to its context, to relevant historical and theoretical materials in order to return to the object with an enhanced understanding of it.

Student papers in the course . . .

> led to the greatly encouraging conclusion that the course in fact does most significantly contribute toward making the students better readers of history, more sensitive to the richness and complexity of greater historical writing and more capable of expressing their new-found comprehension.[44]

I believe the Amherst History Department developed . . .

> an introductory course which effectively introduces the discipline without becoming either a specialized course or, alternatively a general information survey--one that achieves both the significant intellectual bite and the humanistic range appropriate to an introductory level course in a liberal arts curriculum.[45]

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[44] AHA Newsletter, September 1970, op. cit., p. 19.

[45] Ibid, p. 20.

COMMENT AND DISCUSSION OF MODEL 4:

To Study History or Historians

Marvin Levich

PROFESSOR LEVICH: I am, as has already been pointed out, not a historian. To some degree, then, I suppose I am a conceptual interloper in these discussions.

I have taught a historically based humanities course for some twenty-five years, so I think I have some experience with the type of course we are here discussing.

I am, I should say, very much interested in the philosophy of history, not in the traditional sense in which the effort is to discover some pattern of one kind or another from which all historical events gain a special instance, but in the sense of philosophy and history.

I want to begin by talking about a liberal education, since this is one of the things which has been cited as a kind of objective on which basic introductory or fundamental, or whatever you wish to call it, the history course is justified. Then I want to discuss the Amherst model.

I begin with the idea of a liberal education, since at least from time to time there is invoked some kind of objective to which academics should address themselves, because it is said that history has something to do with a liberal education. To that degree, I agree.

But I will suggest, if not effectively argue, that the objectives of history cannot be the objectives of a liberal education, and to assume that that is so leads to intellectual sogginess and curricular mistake. The objectives in history are, of course, part of a liberal education, but that is quite another thing.

We are all, for example, familiar with the comment that such and such a person is a well-trained doctor, but not an educated man or woman.

When we say that, I do not think we are implying that the doctor is not a superb practitioner of the doctor's craft. We are implying, I think, that however good that person is as a doctor, there is something wrong with that person as a human being. We are implying, I think, that that person does not understand the relationship of what that person is doing to the rest of life, because that person does not understand the rest of life. That person is, if you will, one dimensional.

What I want to suggest in this context is that over the centuries different disciplines--I use that term seriously and literally--have been developed with distinctive intellectual strategies for understanding the world and human beings.

As they have developed, exactly because they have become identified and isolated as disciplines, they have become distinctive forms of knowledge, special ways by which our experience is structured through the use of public symbols. The symbols in question have public meaning, and are in particular ways, distinctive ways dependent on the discipline, testable against experience.

Those forms of knowledge having that feature are, I would suggest, what we call disciplines, and they are divided, as I believe they must be divided and have been divided, by a variety of features.

First, there are concepts occurring in those disciplines which are regarded as being central to their intellectual function. In physics, for example, concepts like gravity, or acceleration. In mathematics, number, matrix. In religion, God, sin and predestination.

One of the things which divides disciplines is exactly the fact that the set concepts in one discipline, which are central to that discipline, are not central to one of the others.

Second, the concepts as expressed can be combined in relationship such that the particular kinds of experience to which the form is addressed can be stated and understood.

What I am suggesting by way of this hurried and brief commentary is that liberal education, in the context which I am seeking to set, has clear intellectual laws to provide students with a sense of the different--I underline different--intellectual strategies that are available for understanding the world, and that history provides one of those strategies--one of those strategies.

What I am suggesting is that the function of liberal education is exactly to disabuse people of the idea that there is a singular intellectual strategy, the nature of which when designed is fitted to understand everything. But there are different intellectual strategies, and the liberal education succeeds to the extent that we can provide students with at least a sense or a sample of what the different sorts of strategies are which are available to address different subject matters and/or experiences.

History is not physics or biology. The justification of history, as I see it, is not, as I tried to suggest before, that it provides a set of generalized or transferrable intellectual skills which are in turn applicable to other kinds of understanding or experience.

A historian may be filled with sympathy, skepticism, the ability to read and write, but on that ground he is not a good historian. There are special kinds of understandings, special kinds of knowledge, the grasp of which, as I believe it, is essential to the understanding of history.

And the assumption that skills are the objective, rather than the grasp of a subject, I think allows one to be seduced into the view that generalized skills are transferrable without further information to a variety of different disciplines.

Let me try to make the point in yet another way. A person may be described as being very good at games, but it does not follow that anybody who had developed the skill of being a good quarterback in professional football is also good at tiddly-winks.

The skills which are involved in doing the one are differentiable from the skills which are involved in doing the other, even though the generic label, playing games, may apply to both.

There is something that I am trying to argue. I find it curious as a philosopher that I am trying to argue that there is a special kind of thing built into the nature of history, if it be a discipline required to be learned, on which basis one can say that history has become part of a liberal education.

That is another way of saying that a history course, I suggest, if it is a good one, is automatically part of a good liberal education, not because it is two things, a good history course, and in addition a good liberal arts course, because what I am trying to suggest is, if it is the former, if my argument has any merit, it is automatically the latter.

This leads me to my next point.

History is, as I have already tried to make clear, a discipline, a public form of knowledge. A necessary condition, therefore, of thinking about an introductory course, or whatever you choose to denominate it, a fundamental course, or a first course, or the only course, is thinking about what history is itself.

It seems to me that there can be no agreement about the special traits of an introductory course in history if there is no agreement about what the subject is which that course perforce has the office to introduce.

Our problem is not so much what an introductory course is to history, but what history is itself, what counts as history.

It seems to me to be logically manifest that one can't sensibly discuss how to introduce a subject if there is not some agreement about what the subject is that is being introduced. I cannot successfully introduce you to Jones, if I don't know Jones. I cannot successfully introduce somebody to history if there is not some agreement about that to which the introduction is being made.

I believe that whatever else history does, and whatever historians say on suitable ceremonial occasions, it claims to give truth about the past. I make that distinction because it does seem to me that on ceremonial occasions historians sometimes take the opportunity to be apologetic about their discipline, and say that it is all relative to something else, the nature of which makes us realize that although they assert the truth, we really should not believe them.

I believe that truths are provided in history, in the context of a special, and sophisticated, and refined, and important craft. I believe this to be enormously valuable. I don't believe it to be enormously valuable because those who study or practice it become better people. In fact, I am not sure that they do.

I believe it to be enormously valuable because to find out the truth about the past, provided by a particular form of knowledge called history, is a good thing to do. It makes people better because of knowing the truth. It is a good thing.

All this brings me, after that preliminary remark, to the superb syllabus described by Professor Halsted. That syllabus is, I think, in its own terms, a model in the exemplary sense of what a course could be. But I think it raises, in the context in which I tried to address these general questions, one issue to which I would like to address myself.

I have tried to say so far that the value of history is that it gives us the truth about the past, and it provides a special strategy to make us able to understand that.

What I am not sure of is whether in some essential sense the course as here described is an introduction to history or the historiographer.

It does seem to me to be a danger that by concentrating on the great classic historians, de Tocqueville, Burkhardt, etc., that the intellectual interest is shifted from the past to historians.

It seems to me to be a very considerable danger, for students to conceive of history as less a study of the past than a study of what historians have said about the past. Without a varied and rich context or background, the danger is, I believe, that students begin to think that the allure of history is less in finding out what happened than in finding out why historians have said what happened.

I am not suggesting that that is an illegitimate enterprise, because part of history, since it is concerned with the past, is finding out why past historians have said things about the past. But I am saying that that is a different kind of intellectual problem from what happened in the past.

There is a danger, it seems to me, of moving to the point where the interest is less, as I understand it, in history and more in historians.

In order to make the point as clearly as I can, I ran across a couple of sentences, which I would like to read here, because they would seem to me to have some merit.

> "One kind of subject growing popular seems to me to be unfortunate. There is an increasing interest in historiography, the study of historians. There is no doubt that it can be a fascinating study, especially when it is treated properly as a form of the history of ideas. But when, as too often, it becomes only a confrontation of conflicting views, it is not a good way to teach history because it directs the attention away from what happened to what was later said about it. Students are too ready to absorb and present rival views of a problem, rather than come to grips with the problem itself, when the discussion is ready-made and easily creates a spurious impression of learned depth."

The quotation concludes: "All those booklets and pamphlets, which treat historical problems by collecting extracts from historians writing about them, give off a clear light only when a match is put to them."

[General laughter]

PROFESSOR LEVICH: I think that this is at least a danger to be confronted in a course where the intellectual focus is a major historian. I think it would be a danger because I am convinced that history does something exceedingly important, intrinsically justified, in giving us knowledge about the past, which I therefore believe to be a legitimate part of what we should call a liberal education.

PROFESSOR TAYLOR: Thank you very much.

Do you want to say anything, John, in response to the comments?

PROFESSOR HALSTED: Maybe a couple of things.

I want to try to respond to Marvin's last point. I think this course can be taught with somewhat different emphases, and I am sure that the several faculties who taught it, taught it with different emphases. Some of them were less interested in devoting their attention to the historian than they were to devoting their attention to the past.

I cannot speak for anyone but myself, but it would seem to me appropriate, in the light of all the other things that you said, to note that the kind of truth that historians present, that in their own peculiar way they assert, is in fact tentative and temporary.

One of the advantages of presenting a course to introduce the student to the transition over time of views about what the past was, suggests that the truth as asserted by historians at any time has heretofore been in that way temporary and transitory.

I don't think that that is necessarily shifting the attention to the historian. It is saying something about knowledge of the past. In that sense it is saying something about the nature of the discipline, the form of the inquiry to which your earlier remarks were addressed. I don't get as worried about that as you do.

PROFESSOR HOLLISTER: Isn't the characteristic of being temporary and transitory true of every discipline? Isn't it singular to history that in your model it is being approached in the terms of past views, past methodology? In other words, that history is here being approached historically.

I cannot imagine that I could sell a chemistry department the notion that the introduction to chemistry should be a history of chemistry, much less the examination of the great chemists of the nineteenth century.

In other words, I suppose I am saying, is it more incumbent upon historians to emphasize the temporary and transitory nature of our discipline than members of other disciplines?

PROFESSOR HALSTED: It might not be more incumbent, but it is more natural. It strikes me that that is simply pursuing our natural inclination, because in fact that is the way we think when we think in a disciplined way.

PROFESSOR WINKLER: It goes one step beyond that, and that is that when we think in a disciplined way, the conclusions to which we come will be substantially more varied than is likely in an incremental discipline such as chemistry.

PROFESSOR LEVICH: All I want to argue is that the people here are practitioners or professors of history. They are not professors of themselves. There has to be some kind of conceptual connection, I think between the nature of the discipline, which in the literal sense is professed, and judgments of importance which have been instilled in them.

PROFESSOR TAYLOR: I hope at some point before the conference ends, we can return in dense detail to the question of concepts, an historical vocabulary, because we all know that we construct the past with periods, and other words that we customarily employ, and no matter how willful we are in asserting our own personal view, it is still a past as a construct --

PROFESSOR SUSMAN: I agree with that, but I am not sure that our students ever know that. I think the question is whether it is important that our students know that.

One of the attractions for me of the Amherst model, and John knows that I happen to be very attracted to it for all sorts of reasons, is that it, in fact, gives an opportunity to see that.

There obviously is a debate as to whether that is valuable or not, and Don and I have debated that many, many times over the years. Marvin and I have also debated this.

I am not saying that I have the answer, but that has always seemed to me a much more important aspect than it seems to many people. I have always been very leery of courses that are heavily based on a textbook, where the textbook assumes a kind of biblical quality in the classroom and does not become something that is critically analyzed in terms of how it is put together.

We don't do that, I know, with a physics book, or with a chemistry book. But in spite of the fact that there are questions of knowledge, selectivity always created special problems in the teaching of history, and not for the fact that history deals with knowledge about the past, or that there is knowledge about the past.

But in terms of creating a narrative, or creating a structure in which this is presented, you can do things with that truth, without lying, which still create very special kinds of problems that students are not always aware of.

PROFESSOR WEINSTEIN: It is looking at history as a construct about the past. It is a construct dealing with materials, dealing with sources, dealing with some survivals from that past. There is a continual effort to reconstruct something that in some sense, and I cannot get into the metaphysics of it, we know is there.

PROFESSOR SUSMAN: There is, as Warren has pointed out to us on a couple of occasions, a real French Revolution.

PROFESSOR WEINSTEIN: It ought to be a lesson to us, though, that de Tocqueville is writing about the French Revolution because that is what was most relevant to him.

PROFESSOR SUSMAN: That is right.

PROFESSOR WEINSTEIN: I think that this is where we ought to start in creating a subject matter for our students. What are those aspects of that infinite mass that we call history, which shape our students?

MODEL 5: Introductory History as Topical Inquiry: The West and the World

Presented by: Kevin Reilly, Somerset County College, N.J.

The Problem and a proposal

The traditional civilization course, western or world, is not working because it is based on nineteenth century positivist epistemological and pedagogical assumptions which are untenable. Some of these assumptions may be briefly summarized: that facts "speak for themselves" or lead to predictable conclusions; that facts are finite so that it is possible to "cover a field"; that facts exist in hierarchies of importance and generality, i.e., some facts are "basic"; that knowledge is a reflection of reality, rather than of the questions asked; that education is the transfer of knowledge from teacher to student; that this transfer properly occurs according to hierarchical steps which reflect reality, i.e., "basic" facts first.

The pyramid is the model for such a view of knowledge. Accordingly, students are given first the basic building blocks. Then they are helped with the next layers of generalizations, principles, and ideas, until they reach the apex of truth. Creativity might consist in the discovery of a new block, and such discoveries might even lead to substitutions at a higher level, but few positivist educators imagined that the truths at the apex would change appreciably or that there might be no apex at all.

The twentieth-century intellectual revolution has not only eliminated the possibility of an apex, it has discarded the model of the pyramid. If we were to look for a twentieth century model of knowledge, it might be the open-ended spiral. In fact, the difference is more profound than that. The idea of a "model" of knowledge is a twentieth century idea that only became possible when knowledge became problematic; and, for the most part, we now look instead for models of knowing, learning, thinking, or creating.

Whether we refer to post-Newtonian science, analytical philosophy, the sociology of knowledge, progressive education, historicism, or "the new history," the impetus of twentieth century thought is to explore the act of thinking rather than the structure of reality. And in doing so, the certainties of the old positivism have been overthrown. We have discovered the role of the observer in the observation, and the position, interest, or participation of the knower is what is known. We have realized that the same facts are often products of prior "interpretations" or point of view. We think in associational, intuitive, and experiential ways that often have nothing to do with neat models of induction, deduction, and building blocks. We "create" facts as much as we "discover" them. Neither their truth, value nor importance is absolute, but relative to certain standards of validation and the way we pose our questions. There neither is nor can be a definitive set of facts on even the smallest of subjects. We learn by asking questions. Education is not the transfer of information even if we know what information the student needed, and we do not. Education is the cultivation of thinking skills, and there are no simple rules for teaching people to think.

On the whole we have learned to accept those conclusions of the twentieth century epistomological and pedagogical revolution. For the most part we do our own historical research with those methodological insights, and knots, in mind. We even base courses on the awareness that each generation writes its own history. We expect our own writing to be revised and "reconstructed." Much of Croce, Collingwood, Beard and Robinson has become common sense. We still have a residual faith in the obduracy of "facts" perhaps. Even those of us who were educated to believe that "1492" was the preeminently important fact, only to have it dug from under us by archeologists of Viking settlements, still have a hard time swallowing the twentieth century recognition that facts are only human constructs, selected from an infinite number of possibilities, and based on one of many possible perspectives, interests, or concerns. But even here, when forced, we admit that there is no set body of factual information that "every schoolboy" must know. Facts, we recognize, depend on the questions asked; they are selections from the infinite morass of human experience; they are not "basic," but only relevant to particular questions. We know all of that, even if we sometimes resent it.

Then why do we still teach our introductory history course in Western or World civilization as if the twentieth century had not arrived?

In 1874 the Columbia College history faculty offered the following three (of six) questions in its "specimen" history examination:[1]

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[1] Columbia College Announcements, 1874-1875 (New York 1874), p. 78. Questions renumbered. The other three questions concerned English history from 1603 to 1714, Aztec religion, and the conquest of Mexico.

1. Draw a parallel between the revolting customs of Mexico, and the barbarities practiced contemporaneously in the most polished countries of Europe. What one feature sunk the Aztec superstition far below the Christian?

2. What is the supposed origin of the Bulgarians? When did they invade the Roman provinces? Give an account of the inroad of Zabergan in 559. Narrate the subsequent history of the Bulgarians.

3. Beginning at 100 B.C., briefly trace the history of the Netherlands to the foundation of the Dutch Republic in 1579.

I am struck by two things about that exam. First, it clearly shows, in ways that could never have been imagined at the time, the degree to which each generation poses its problems, phrases its concern, deems what is important, and writes its history. That of course is the lesson of historicism and the wider twentieth century revolution that I have belabored. That is precisely why we have recognized that substance is secondary: the subject matter changes. But the second thing that strikes me is how closely, excluding the substantive content, that exam resembles those we still give our students today. We ask about the contemporary equivalent of the Bulgarians or Zabergan as if (a) such knowledge were the basic baggage of the well educated person, and (b) the student would correctly follow the line of thinking of the examiner.

It would be unfair to place that exam side by side any particular specimen from today, but we have all given and taken enough exams to recognize that only the names have been changed. In fact, we probably rely more on short answer "objective" questions (with the aid of the asterisks in the Instructor's Manual to remind us of what everyone should know), but even when we ask essay questions they usually take the same form. I would characterize it as the closed-system memory form. Despite the essay format, the student is not expected to say anything new or original, nothing that has not been said in class or in the reading. The student is not expected to think, but only to recall much of the information (ideas, generalizations, biases as well as facts) that has been presented by teacher and text. The assumption in grading such exams is that the basic information and the interpretations or conclusions are given. The student need only remember and write. In fact, it was rather common practice when I was a student for the instructor to deduct points (from a presumed 100) for items that were not included in the answer;

even today, students sometimes respond to a poor grade with the query "what did I leave out?"

I started by saying that the traditional civilization course was not working. I think now we can be clearer about the reasons for that. Students do not have to read Dewey or Wittgenstein or hundred year old history exams to know that closed-system memory transfers of irrelevant information do not appeal to them. They do memorize such closed systems of information in business courses in order to succeed, and sometimes they do so in humanities courses out of professional goals, duty, or intense personal interest in the subject.

But without a strong, pragmatic, preparatory, or personal predisposition to a subject, modern students are not going to ask to memorize what seem to be irrelevancies. Many of them know, without formal exposure to modern pedagogical theory, that they want to be encouraged to think for themselves. Many others, who have not been allowed to develop the acquired taste of thinking, only know that they want to be interested. We are the ones who are in a position to recognize, intuitively or with the insights of modern pedagogy, that their request is not only legitimate but proper. We can know, more surely than they, that the particular subject matter is of transitory significance but that the ability to think critically and independently is of permanent value. I am suggesting that we change the goals of the introductory history course, even civilization course, from that of transferring information to teaching students to think historically. I am suggesting that such a change would be in keeping with both the conclusions of the twentieth-century intellectual revolution and the interests of our students: that it would be both more intellectually defensible and popular.

I think it is also a social necessity. We live in a world whose basic ingredient seems to be change. I keep thinking of the "antique" sign above a restaurant in Los Angeles that read "Established 1964," but we could just as easily recall the return of Henry James to New York City in *The American Scene* almost a hundred years ago. Change is the hallmark, the bewildering fact, of twentieth century life. To think historically in an age which discards certainties with soda bottles is to think about change. And change is our speciality. The ability to inquire about the way things change, to ground the present in the past while understanding the discontinuities, to chart the possibilities and limitations that the past has shaped for the present and future, to understand the dynamic of social causation and the power of human intervention, to draw on prior experience and still decipher the uniqueness of the present--all of these skills are as much the stock in trade of historians as is our factual knowledge of a particular time and place. And these are the skills that our society cries out for.

"Ours is the age," Max Scheler wrote, "when man has become for the first time in history, fully and thoroughly problematical to himself." The same changes that swept away the certainties of positivism and the comforts of tradition have revealed the problematic in every aspect of life. The problems are legion: What is masculine or feminine? What does sexuality have to do with love? Does religion make us more moral? Why do we obey governments, gods, or consciences? Our century has substituted problems where there used to be ready answers, indeed rarely questions. If these are problems created by the sweep of historical change, then it is through an understanding of historical change that we must seek the answers. Just as earlier ages could cite the subject matter of historical example to answer basic questions, we can inquire about history as process. As change makes our reality increasingly problematic, knowledge of change, historical knowledge, is our only knowledge.

Lord Acton's injunction to study problems rather than periods is especially germane to the introductory history course because it allows the historian to engage students directly with issues that concern them. Most college undergraduates do not come to us with an interest in Hellenistic Greece, the twelfth century, or the age of the French Revolution. But they do come to us with an interest in the problems of modern society: ecology, energy, crime, sexism, abortion, divorce, inflation, and the like. Very often our students present these problems to us in implicitly historical terms. They ask "haven't women always been" such and such? or "how did this energy thing come about?" or "haven't there always been wars?" Instead of dismissing these questions as irrelevant or poorly formulated, so that we can return to our lecture on Roman history, let us use their interest, formulate their historical questions explicitly, and make the introductory history course a vehicle for teaching our students to think more deeply about current problems than they do in the temporal vacuum that modern society provides.

When we structure our course in terms of historical periods, even with the proviso that all of this discussion about ancient Rome will be of some relevance to their concerns, we are one step removed from their immediate interests. They don't see the connection. Often we don't make connections. Frequently, they never start thinking.

If, on the other hand, we direct our inquiries explicitly to ecological problems, for instance, we have their interest; the mental engines are already running, and they will follow us through an historical exploration. We can "cover" as much "information" as we would in a history of Rome. We may even find some aspects of Roman history relevant to the investigation. But our historical inquiry would be controlled by the questions we asked in a way that would demonstrate the utility of historical study. Thus, students would not only learn the information of our particular ecological history, but they would also learn to think more historically about ecological issues on their own, especially if we challenged them with our interpretation, encouraged them to weigh evidence, and suggested the resources for other views, approaches, and information. That experience, repeated again and again in historical investigations of other problems, would have the ultimate goal of teaching students to explore any new problem historically. At that point the introductory history course would be far more useful than an accumulation of information, quickly forgotten because it never mattered to them. At that point students would become historical beings, eager for, and able to work towards, historical explanations of any problem. They would have learned "history" as an ability to think about the temporal dimension of human experience, instead of having forgotten "history" as subject matter.

Which topics, issues, or problems?

Once we have committed ourselves to teaching history as inquiry (in the Greek sense of "historia") and to explore the historical dimension of current topics, issues, or problems, our choice of topics is secondary. Just as we have no epistemological sanction for requiring that students know one rather than another of an infinite number of facts, we have no basis for insisting that they know about one topic rather than another.

In order to speak most directly to the interests and needs of our students and society, the topics should probably be defined in ways that do not deviate sharply from the popular, social construction of these problems. The perception of such problems in the media is at least a useful starting point, even if our histories may point to different formulations. I think that the problem with historical issues anthologies in the last few decades has been that, despite their welcome attention to issues of interpretation, they have focused on the problems of historians (the Pirenne thesis, the question of a twelfth-century Renaissance, the causes of the English Civil War) instead of the problems of students and the wider society. Since the introductory course may be the only history course that many students take, its value lies in aiding all students to think more historically rather than in training more historians. For the same reason, it is probably best to explore a number of problems rather than a single one. The investigation of a number of topics should also enhance the students' predisposition and ability to ask and answer historical questions. We learn numbers by counting more than fingers. We learn to think historically by thinking about more than ecology.

In my text, The West and the World: A Topical History of Civilization, (New York: Harper and Row, 1980), I defined nine general topics in the following way: men and women, love and marriage, individual and culture, city and civilization, war and violence, politics and morality, economies and work, race and racism, energy and ecology.

Initially, I found it most useful to explore each of those broad topics wherever it led. "Men and women" called for a longue´ duree across paleolithic, neolithic, and early urban society. "Love and marriage" seemed to require an understanding of Greece and the medieval courtly tradition. The question of the "individual and society" suggested a study of ancient Athens to early Christianity. "War and violence" prompted an investigation of ancient Rome and the Middle Ages. The choices were arbitrary, but considered. One might have chosen others, but these made sense to me.

In any case, the process of submitting the draft to colleagues forced me to conform more strictly to the chronological conventions of introductory civilization courses. The result was the following outline:

PART I - THE ANCIENT WORLD: TO 1000 B.C.

Chapter 1
Masculine and Feminine: Nature and History

Chapter 2
Matriarchy and Patriarchy: Agricultural and Urban Power

Chapter 3
Cities and Civilization: Civility and Class

PART II - THE CLASSICAL WORLD: 1000 B.C.-A.D. 500

Chapter 4
City-State and Captial City: Athens to Rome

Chapter 5
Love and Sex: Passion and Conquest in Greece and Rome

Chapter 6
War and Peace: Frontiers and Roman Empire

Chapter 7
Individuality and Culture: Classical and Christian Selves

Chapter 8
Politics and Religion: Asian Caste and Service

PART III - THE TRADITIONAL WORLD; 500-1500

Chapter 9
Love and Devotion: Christianity, Chastity, and Chivalry

Chapter 10
Violence and Vengeance: Barbarians, Knights, and Crusaders

Chapter 11
Citizen and Subject: Asian and Western Cities

Chapter 12
Ecology and Theology: Medieval Religion and Science

PART IV - THE EARLY MODERN WORLD: 1500-1800

Chapter 13
Politics and Ideals: Secular States and Middle Classes

Chapter 14
Work and Exchange: Capitalism versus Tradition

Chapter 15
Racism and Color: Colonialism and Slavery

Chapter 16
Energy and Environment: Industry and Capitalism

PART V - THE MODERN WORLD: 1800-THE PRESENT

Chapter 17
Economics and Utopia: Origins of Socialism

Chapter 18
Race and Class: The Americas Since Slavery

Chapter 19
Individuality and Society: The Self in the Modern World

Chapter 20
Resources and Pollution: Contemporary America

Chapter 21

Culture and Change: Beyond Certainty and Relativity

Whether taught in this chronological form (as printed) or in the original topical form, this kind of material still allows the instructor to challenge the students to think more historically about current problems. And since the problems have immediate relevance, the students are eager to do so.

The historical essays that serve as chapters engage the student in historical thinking in various ways. Some are "causal" explanations of the present problem. Others suggest perspective by examining an historical situation or society in which the problem did not exist, or was "solved." Some are histories which put the problem in a broader context. Most are arguments, and, thus, students are encouraged to think about them, weigh the evidence, and come to their own conclusions. They seem to do that eagerly, perhaps precisely because the problems are real and the answers are not yet in.

A topical approach not only cultivates interest and thinking skills but it also points a road from Western to world history. We are interested in the problems of the West because they are our own problems. We ask, for instance, about "love and sex" because the relationship of the two is a current Western problem. We do not ask about the problem of "women and Islamic law" or the issue of "caste and ritual purity." On the other hand, most Western problems are not uniquely our own, certainly not even love and sex. If we categorically ignored the historical experiences of the rest of the world, we would be as foolish as someone who read only the green books in the library. Western histories may be frequently richer and more relevant, but the rest of the world has much to tell us. Now that we are beginning to listen, we can work to correct the older parochial view of world history as Western history. Further, as the world becomes a more integrated unit, the problems of the West and the world become synonymous.

Teaching Thinking

One of the characteristics of twentieth century pedagogical thought is that it has become almost fashionable to insist that we are interested in teaching students to think. I have said it, and will say it again. All of the good teachers I know say it. But there is very little consensus, and even less investigation, as to what we mean by that, how it pertains specifically to teaching history, and how one accomplishes it. I have so far confined myself to the observations that (a) interest is paramount, (b) we think about issues, topics, or problems, not periods (generally), and (c) historical thinking is thinking about process and change (including continuity) i.e., the temporal dimension of human experience.

Before I say any more than that I want to make two points clear. First, there is much work to be done in learning theory, and my remarks are only tentative.[2] Second, epistemological abstractions have a way of becoming more "real and doctrinaire (much like "behavioral objectives" in the 1960s) than can ever be warranted by whatever research is likely to be done.

I noticed in writing the essays (chapters) in The West and the World that I was trying to write different kinds of history, and thus teach students different kinds of historical thinking. It might be useful to elaborate on that a bit. In the first chapter, "Masculine and Feminine: Nature and History," I was interested in (aside from the obvious content issue of the title: what is natural, and what's historical, in masculine and feminine traits) the recognition of differences and the search for origins. I used Margaret Mead's Sex and Temperament to get students to see human variety and make some sense of it. The recognition of differences is, of course, a fundamental thinking skill: the assimilation of its meaning perhaps is not. The question of origins (in this case the origins of patriarchy) was broached in the first chapter, but more fully explored in the second, "Matriarchy and Patriarchy: Agricultural and Urban Power." It is more decidely an historical question (though some would say a pseudo-question). Searching for the origins of something might always imply an infinite regress of questionable value, but as one of the most common formulations of historical questions in our culture I asked it (in part to discuss the difficulties). The second chapter also teaches the discovery and meaning of "turning points" or periodization (clearly an historical skill) with a discussion of archeological distinctions between the paleolithic, neolithic, and urban. Further, the second chapter encourages the students to think about the interaction of cultural forms by relating technological artifacts to social organization and religious ideas in paleolithic, neolithic, and urban societies. Here students are taught to see culture as a context, to relate the parts to the whole, and to weigh the evidence for such characterizations as "matriarchal" and "patriarchal".[3]

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[2] I am thinking of the work of Piaget and his school on the one hand and of work in the philosophy of science on the other. The most relevant work in the philosophy of science focuses on the formal qualities of "explanation" and distinguishes between (for the historian) "causal," "genetic," and "functional" modes of explanation.

Without belaboring a rather rudimentary formal analysis, a few more characteristics might be helpful. Chapter 3, "Cities and Civilization: Civility and Class" asks students to think through causal chains both linearly and dialectically by arguing that opposite tendencies emerged from the same event--urban formation. Chapter 4, "City-State and Capital City: Athens to Rome" leads students through the construction of two "ideal types" of cities, defined according to function. Chapter 5 is an annecdotal history, which makes its points almost entirely by referring to particular individuals, while Chapter 6 is a social-political history that mentions very few individuals. Chapter 7 draws its evidence from a wide net of sources (anthropology, art, literature, linguistics, and religion), while Chapter 8 is an extended examination of a few texts in political theory. And so on.

I think it is important for us and our students to become more self-conscious of the structures of explanation which we employ. But the subject of our historical inquiries (racism, ecology, etc.) should always be the primary focus. Philosophers may prefer to organize their courses in terms of formal thinking skills, but history courses so organized would lose touch with the specific, concrete, human reality that we seek to understand. By making the topics of inquiry, in presentation and explanation, intrinsically interesting, we might also be able to step back and ask questions about the formal characteristics of the explanations we have given. This allows us to deal with historiographical and epistemological issues not in the abstract, or in reference to the work of the great historians, but in the context of our own historical explanations of pressing problems that we are at pains to provide.

The Model

My model for the introductory history course is my book, The West and the World: A Topical History of Civilization and the accompanying Instructor's Manual. I have worked on a text because it

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[3] For an example of how this is done, see Instructor's Manual, Note #2 of "Teaching Strategies and Aids," for Chapter 2, pp. 11-12, and some of the suggested questions for students, pp. 12-13.

seemed to me the weakest link in the civilization course. Invariably, students rated the reading lower than any other segment of the course. I set out to write a text that would be more interesting, readable. and useful to them than those that were available. For better or worse, the book shows, sentence by sentence, how I thought this should be done. The Instructor's Manual was more of a publisher's requirement than an act of love, but it did elicit a considerable amount of thought and energy. It contains no chapter summaries or "objectives questions," but teaching strategies and aids (including films), "questions for discussion and testing" (on the assumption that they should be synonymous), and "suggestions for special projects" (like student papers). The "Suggestions for Further Reading" section at the end of each chapter of the text, offers material for a number of possible courses. The text can be used as a core or supplement to other texts, anthologies, source materials or monographs. My current syllabus follows.

WORLD CIVILIZATION I

Reading: Kevin Reilly, The West and the World: A Topical History of Civilization, vol. I or combined volume (Harper & Row)

The Epic of Gilgamesh (Penguin)

Plato, The Symposium (Penguin)

Hermann Hesse, Siddhartha (Bantam)

A. Powell Davies, The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls (Mentor)

The Bible

UNIT I MEN AND WOMEN: The Ancient World

Week 1: The West and the World, Chapter 1: Masculine and Feminine: Nature and History

Week 2: The West and the World, Chapter 2: Matriarchy and Patriarchy: Agricultural and Urban Power

UNIT II CIVILIZATION: Ancient Beginnings

Week 3: The West and the World, Chapter 3: Cities and Civilization: Civility and Class

Week 4: The Epic of Gilgamesh, pp. 61-119

Week 5: Introduction to The Epic of Gilgamesh, pp. 1-60, and EXAM

UNIT III CITIES: Classical Greece and Rome

Week 6: The West and the World, Chapter 4: City-State and Capital City: Athens to Rome

UNIT IV LOVE: Classical Greece and Rome

Week 7: The West and the World, Chapter 5: Love and Sex: Passion and Conquest in Greece and Rome

Week 8: Plato, The Symposium

UNIT V WAR: The Ancient World and Classical Rome

Week 9: The West and the World: Chapter 6: War and Peace: Frontiers and Roman Empire

UNIT VI INDIVIDUALITY: Classical and Christian

Week 10: The West and the World, Chapter 7: Individuality and Culture: Classical Christian Selves and EXAM

UNIT VII RELIGION AND POLITICS: Classical India and China

Week 11: Herman Hesse, Siddhartha, and The West and the World, Chapter 8: Politics and Religion: Asian Caste and Service

UNIT VIII RELIGION AND HISTORY: The Judeo-Christian Tradition

Week 12: Selections from the Bible and A. Powell Davies, The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls

UNIT IX LOVE AND WAR: Traditional Society

Week 13: *The West and the World*, Chapter 9: Love and Devotion: Christianity, Chastity and Chivalry, and Chapter 10: Violence and Vengeance: Barbarians, Knights and Crusaders

UNIT X CITY AND COMMUNITY: Asian and Western Society

Week 14: *The West and the World*, Chapter 11: Citizen and Subject: Asian and Western Cities

UNIT XI ECOLOGY: Traditional World

Week 15: *The West and the World*, Chapter 12: Ecology and Theology: Medieval Religion and Science

WORLD CIVILIZATION II

READING: Kevin Reilly, *The West and the World: A Topical History of Civilization*, vol. II or combined volume (Harper & Row)

Charles Dickens, *Hard Times*

Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*

Orville Schell & Joseph Esherick, *Modern China* (Vintage)

George Orwell, *Burmese Days* (Penguin)

Chinua Achebe, *Things Fall Apart* (Fawcett)

UNIT I POLITICS AND MORALITY

Week 1: *The West and the World*, Chapter 13: Politics and Ideals: Secular States and Middle Classes

UNIT II CAPITALISM AND SOCIALISM

Week 2: The West and the World, Chapter 14: Work and Exchange: Capitalism *versus* Tradition

Week 3: Charles Dickens, *Hard Times*

Week 4: The West and the World, Chapter 17: Economics and Utopia: Origins of Socialism

Week 5: Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*

UNIT III ENERGY AND ECOLOGY

Week 6: The West and the World, Chapter 12: Ecology and Theology: Medieval Religion & Science

Week 7: The West and the World, Chapter 16: Energy and Environment: Industry & Capitalism

Week 8: The West and the World, Chapter 20: Resources and Pollution: Contemporary America

UNIT IV RACISM

Week 9: The West and the World, Chapter 15: Racism and Color: Colonialism and Slavery

Week 10: The West and the World, Chapter 18: Race and Class: The Americas Since Slavery

UNIT V INDIVIDUALITY

Week 11: The West and the World, Chapter 19: Individuality & Society: The Self in the Modern World

UNIT VI IMPERIALISM AND INDEPENDENCE

Week 12: Orville Schell & Joseph Esherick, *Modern China* (Vintage)

Week 13: George Orwell, *Burmese Days* (Penquin)

Week 14: Chinua Achebe, *Things Fall Apart* (Fawcett)

UNIT VII HISTORY AND CULTURE

Week 15: *The West and the World*, Chapter 21: Culture and Change: Beyond Certainty and Relativity

COMMENT ON MODEL 5:

Dan Warshaw

When one looks at The West and the World and, above all, at the Instructor's Manual for the text where the model is most clearly presented, it is quite clear that Professor Reilly's model for a topical course breaks drastically from the older style introductory history. While it maintains a broad approach in terms of time periods and societies that are touched upon, it is not obviously a survey of civilizations. Students are to study problems and issues rather than particular societies, and the problems and issues are related to the burning or, at least, prominent topics of the day. In addition, the proposed course is comparative since it contrasts institutions and practices from several civilizations. And the world and not just the West is involved since the units include considerations of Chinese, Indian, and Islamic cultures. Of particular note is the important presence of more than one race and of more than one sex--I'm tempted to say more than two sexes--in the material covered. These traits more or less sum up the content of the course. But Professor Reilly emphasizes the goal more than the content, and that goal is to introduce students to ways of thinking and to stimulate a desire in them for inquiry rather than a desire to accumulate information about the world.

There are numerous features in the outlook of the author and in the proposal. Leaving aside the eloquently presented democratic socialist perspectives in the text (perspectives I share), I want to stress those features that make this model superior to the standard introductory history.

Everything in the model depends upon its central feature, the topics that it is made up of, and Professor Reilly's paper does not do justice to his own choices as they can be found in The West and the World. When he writes about the relation of the topics to "current problems" and "media sensations", he is using unfortunate if not deliberately provocative language. As the proposal indicates, the current issues are used to draw the attention of students toward concerns that are perennial or persistent in social existence or that are preeminent in our own civilization. The question of gender roles and natural versus historical constituents of character is not simply a current fad linked to the publicity given to the women's movement. The discussion of the quality of life in cities should not only disturb and stir students with regard to what is going on today in America's metropolises, but it also involves the question of what life values are missing in general from our style of life that might have been present in other periods of history.

One key feature and strength of the model, as these last remarks indicate, is that values are stressed. The content of the course focuses on what people really care about: equality, love, power, aggression, community, identity, and so on. And the approach to value judgements on these matters is not neutral and thus wishy-washy. The text makes clear the author has commitments. The provocative nature of the author's judgments and of his socialist critique of our society could be a source of fruitful controversy and excitement in class. But the nature of the topics covered and of the value issues raised would enable such provocation and excitement to be possible even in the class of a political moderate.

The inhabitants of Athens, Rome, Changan, Hangchow, Venice, Versailles, and New York can matter to students because they teach us about the conditions and attitudes we have or lack for rich personal lives, personal dignity, and community ties.

Although the Instructor's Manual and the text stress confrontation with vital human concerns to a degree that the proposal does not indicate, the Instructor's Manual also demonstrates that the course is faithful to the goal the proposal states is central: "the cultivation of thinking skills." The first chapter in the text, we learn, is an introduction to thinking about origins: the next introduces students to the problems of fact, interpretation, evidence, generalization, and speculation; the third chapter exposes the class to "dialectical thinking"--the ability to see how opposite tendencies develop from the same event. Another chapter involves students with interpreting original sources and with recognizing the implicit assumptions of their authors. From this summary we can see that Professor Reilly has achieved considerable precision about what is meant by "cultivation of thinking skills" and teaching inquiry. What I find particularly valuable, however, in this training in the discipline of thinking, is that it does not focus on exploring how historians go about doing research and establishing interpretations. The concern is with thinking conceived in a broader, humanistic fashion as springing from experience, involving intuitional or qualitative processes, and leading toward both value judgments and judgments of validity. Nor does this approach neglect the operations of skeptical, critical judgment. Of course, the proposal also highlights one special contribution of the historian to how we go about understanding the world: the cultivation of a sense of the world as process.

MODEL 6: Introduction to Modern Urban Civilization Through A Cultural History of New York City

Presented by: William R. Taylor, SUNY at Stony Brook

Professor Taylor offered as his model an essay published in *Principal** *and his syllabus for "The Culture of American Cities." The essay is concerned with the general question of historical education from the primary to college level, and the course is an implementation of these ideas on a more advanced undergraduate level. Although the course is not designed for freshmen, and is not a survey, "it was designed as an introduction both to cultural history and to modern urban culture."*

First the essay, since it provides a context for the syllabus. The essay begins with an analysis of the neglect of history and history education in modern American society. The problem calls for what Professor Taylor calls an almost Cartesian attempt to find "fresh significance in the past."

What if we were to take the slogan "back to basics" very seriously and ask what is basic to the study of society? The traditional answer has always been: "essential" knowledge about the society--and, finally, about the world--in which we live. "Basic" has traditionally referred to information--the kind of information that a citizen should possess in order to function effectively in adult life. Clearly, such a "multiplication table" model for studying history has many problems: children (and adults) quickly forget meaningless memorization, for there are better ways and places to acquire that kind of information about the culture.

Our children swim in a world of signs and icons from birth, and they soon learn to attach social meaning to them. As the prevalence of the field trip in better schools suggests, city streets, the car window, the television screen, and the backyard are probably better places than the schoolroom for acquiring social information. Indeed, early teachers of history were scarcely innocent of such an observation. The schoolroom was intended less as a source of primary knowledge about society than as a corrective for what was considered inappropriate knowledge that children had already received from the "streets" of their childhood.

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*"Eyeball to Eyeball with Change: A Primer for the New History," by William R. Taylor. National Elementary Principal, volume 57, number 1, October 1977. "Copyright 1977, National Association of Elementary School Principals. All rights reserved." Reprinted with permission.

Put simply, the early objective for studying history, one that has died hard, was to instill patriotism in native Americans and to Americanize the children of immigrants. The experience of totalitarian societies with thought control and official history has taught us to distrust that older civic rationale.

The problem of who is to determine what children should learn about their society has been further complicated by the new perspectives on our past arrived at in recent decades by women and by ethnic and racial minorities. If these new kinds of historical inquiry lead to any one conclusion, it is to question the legitimacy of most previous history. History over the centuries has traditionally held up a mirror to those who hold power; the governmental, economic, and intellectual elites. Whether it is the rise or the overthrow of dynastic power, the triumph of a transcontinental railway, or the development of an empirical science in modern times, history has tended to record the past and exploit the changes for the use of these elites.

Recent changes in the writing of history remind us how much experience was overlooked or deliberately suppressed in the historical accounts most of us learned in school and college. Sometimes the distortions were a matter of omission: the everyday experience of women, blacks, and American Indians; indeed, the experiences and life changes of most people--childhood, family life, work, aging, and death--have been slow to assume the center of the historical stage.

Perhaps of even greater significance has been a related shift in perspective. History has tended to examine change from the point of view of achiever and achievement. In accounts of great historical movements, we are most often asked to share the perspective of those who ride the crest of the wave rather than those submerged. The very structure of historical narrative has placed emphasis on those who ride onward rather than on those who drop by the wayside, on those who emigrate over those who elect to stay put, on the young and mobile rather than on the old and passive, on the articulate and literate rather than on the inarticulate and illiterate. That kind of selective perspective is, in part, the result of the records that historians have consulted. As Jesse Lemisch pointed out some years ago, it is much easier to write an account of the captain rather than the seaman, the teacher rather than the pupil, the preacher rather than the congregation.

The view from below has proved difficult to recapture. History has been an elitist creature of the word in at least two ways: historians have been dependent on the written record, and historians themselves have rendered their accounts in words. History has, almost inevitably, been the account of what has happened to those very different from ourselves, something that happened "back there" or "out there," something difficult to associate with our own lives. Perhaps the shift in interest from history to other social sciences such as anthropology, sociology, or psychology does not mean what we think. The problem may not be a loss of interest in *the* past but rather in *that* past. For example, we can easily account for the *Roots* phenomenon as the efforts of one man to recover a personal past.

Accordingly, the best historical works in recent years are those efforts to recapture the experience and perspective of ordinary people. Armed with computer, tape recorder, or sophisticated photographic equipmment, the historian can vividly bring out the "background" of the historical canvas. Historians, almost as a matter of course, are now examining the faces and the vital statistics of ordinary men and women long dead. They are examining changes that were of little concern to historians only a few years ago: changes in childrearing practice, the developing sense of adolescence, and the shifting attitudes toward aging and the aged (I, myself, am writing a study of the ways in which urban life has altered perception). One thing, then, remains constant between the old and the newer kinds of history: history is centrally concerned with change over time. Any basic reconsideration of historical study should begin at precisely this point: if there is a simple Cartesian element that distinguishes history from the other social sciences, it is its singular preoccupation with the concept of time-change. . . .

One argument for placing a priority on the teaching of change might run something like this: we live in a society that is at once characterized by rapid change and immunized to its implications. That is partly true because we have experienced so much change by the time we are adults that we have become deadened to its implications. We know that our social environment is constantly changing, but even as adults we are poorly prepared by our culture to gauge the effects of this change in our lives.

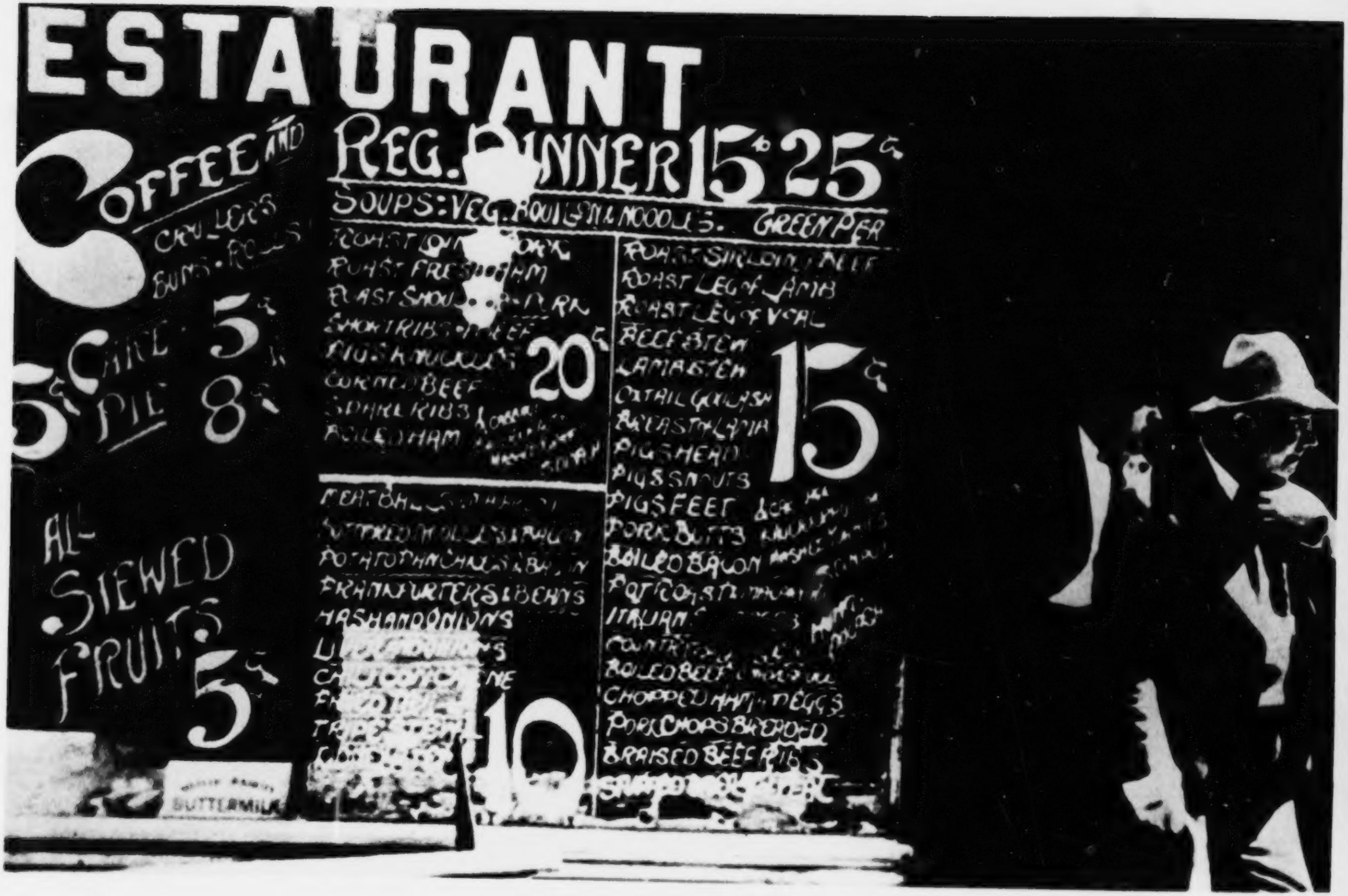
On the one hand, we are bombarded with news reports of crises: population explosions, runaway inflation, energy crises, ecological and nutritional crises, racial encroachment, crime waves, the threat of nuclear holocausts, and worldwide hunger. We are driven to apathy and panic by turns. On the other hand, the mass media preclude any recognition that social change is taking place. Television programs about family life dwell on the little day-to-day crises. Few of the even moderately disruptive changes common to American families, like moving to a different community or city, punctuate these stories.

How then does one teach students to understand change?

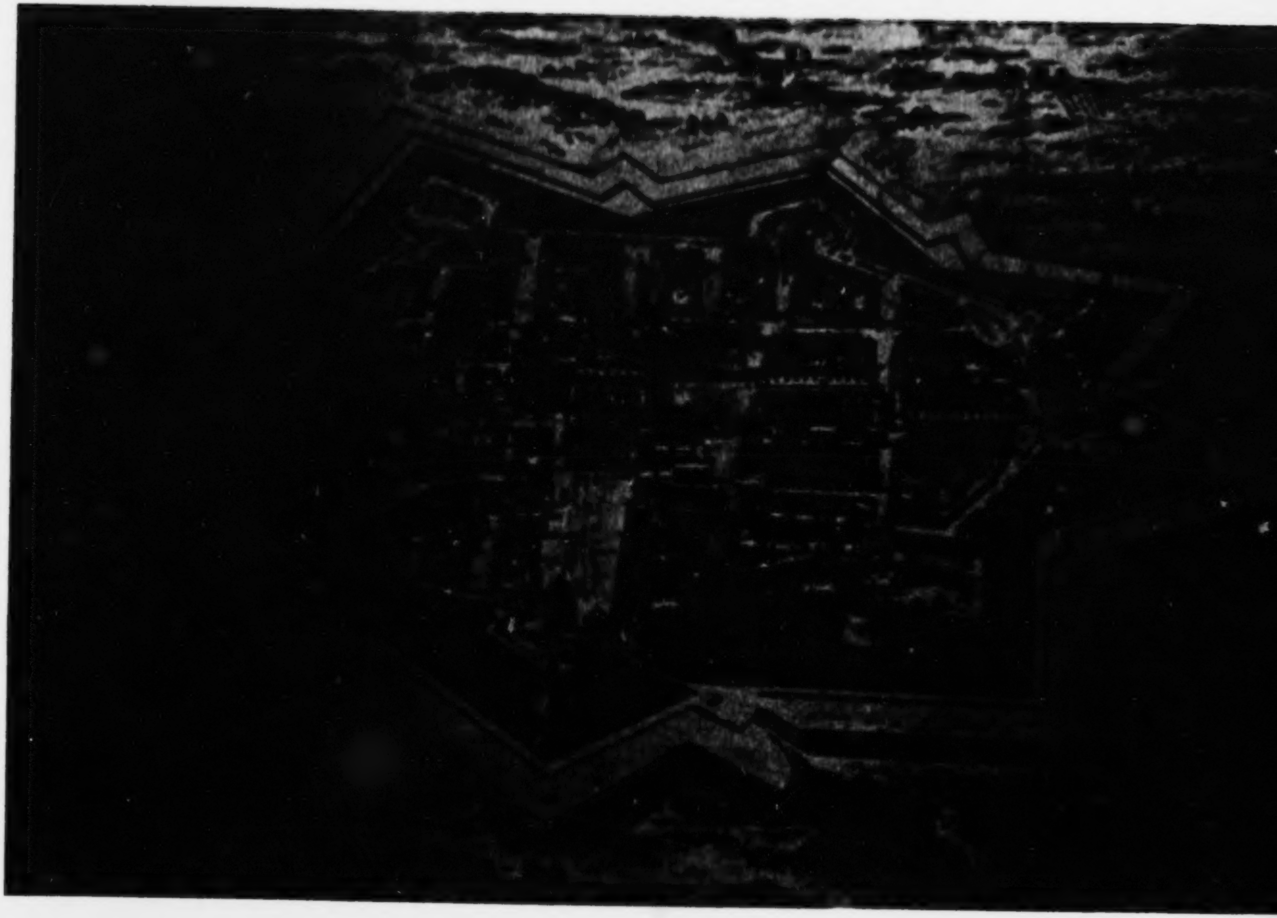
One answer may lie in the use of photographs and other kinds of graphic representations. For over a hundred years, photographers have been recording scenes from our social life. Photographs illustrate the changing character of our cities, our businesses, our technological resources and achievements, our factories, and especially our family lives. From the very outset, the camera was focused on the immigrant, the poor, the sick, and the deformed. Countless family histories were snapped by the early "box" cameras and stored away in attics. . . .

During the past year, experiments conducted with college classes have been most successful in cases where pairs of slides have been used to provide evidence of change. Two projectors are employed simultaneously on screens placed side by side. In this way, changes in building technique, architectural design, and city planning can be juxtaposed and discussed with the evidence in clear view on the two screens in a "before and after" arrangement. In this way, it is possible to trace the rise of the modern skyscraper city and to examine some of the stylistic developments that accompanied such a change; for example, the carry-over of the vertical, geometric lines that characterized these buildings to portraiture and stage design and the emergence of certain characteristic perspectives on the city--like the skyline view of its tall buildings seen in profile from a distance.

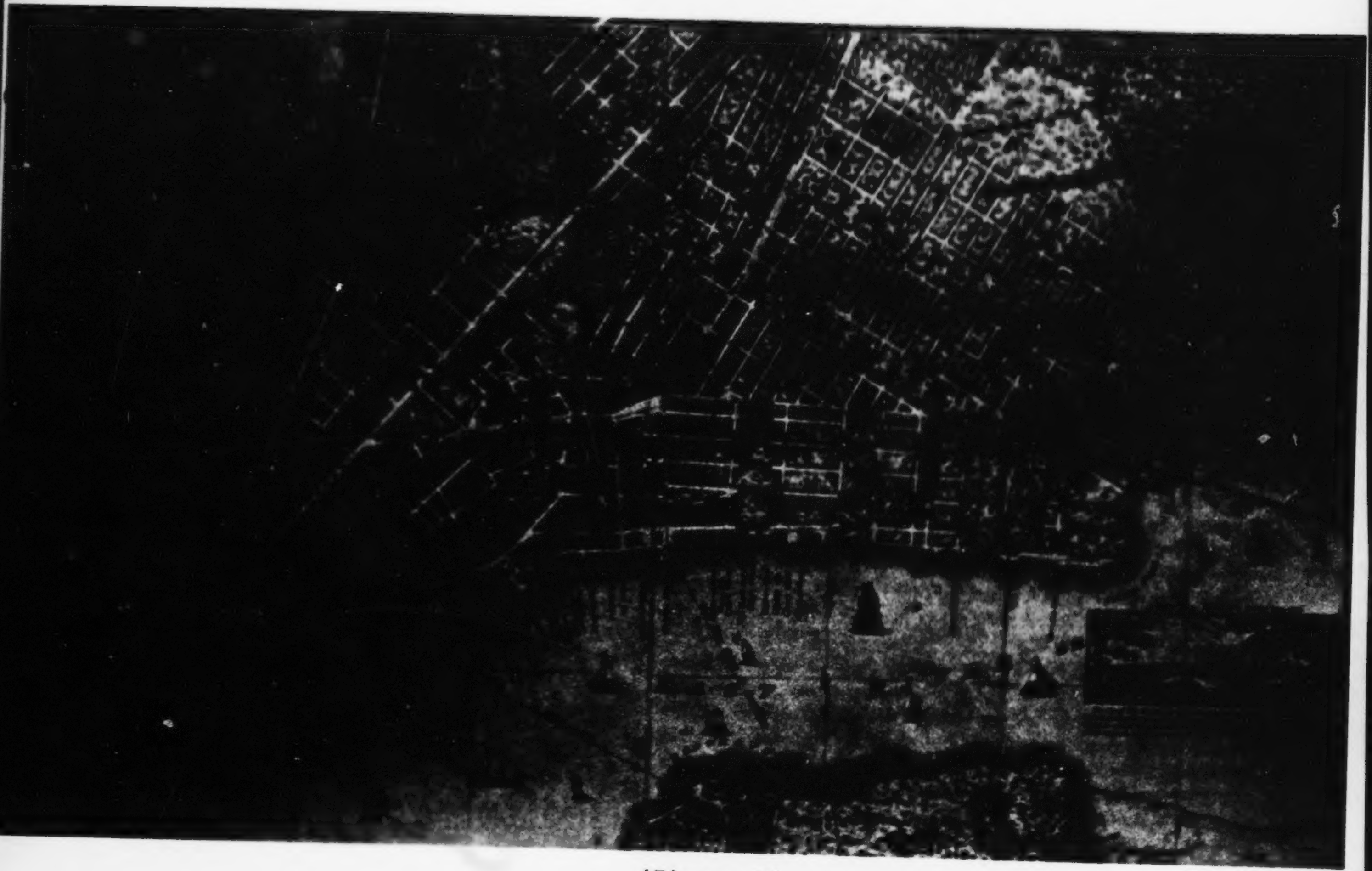
While such stylistic change would probably be outside the concerns of even the upper elementary grades, I believe that many of those materials would prove eminently discussable. For example, a teacher might begin with several slides in which children are asked, "What is missing?" or "What is wrong?" in this picture: pictures of city streets filled with carriages or bicycles, or the photograph of a window filled with depression restaurant prices made by Ben Shahn in 1935 (Figure 1). Another tactic would be to show bird's-eye perspective prints of twelfth-century Modena with its moat and wall and New York at the end of the eighteenth century, contrasting them with an aerial photograph of Las Vegas, in the 1960s (Figures 2, 3, and 4). There are many things to say about these slides, but the


ESTAURANT
COFFEE AND
CRULLERS
BUNS • ROLLS
5¢
CAKE 5¢
PIE 8¢
REG. DINNER 15 to 25¢
SOUPS: VEG. NOODLES. GREEN PEA
ROAST LOIN OF PORK
ROAST FRESH HAM
ROAST SHOULDER PORK
SHORT RIBS OF BEEF
PIGS KNUCKLES
CORNED BEEF
SPARE RIBS
BOILED HAM
20¢
ROAST SIRLOIN OF BEEF
ROAST LEG OF LAMB
ROAST LEG OF VEAL
BEEF STEW
LAMB STEW
OXTAIL GOULASH
BREAST OF LAMB
PIGS HEAD
PIGS SNOUTS
PIGS FEET
PORK BUTTS
BOILED BACON
CHOPPED HAM & EGGS
PORK CHOPS BREADED
BRAISED BEEF RIBS
15¢
POTATO PANCAKES & BACON
FRANKFURTERS & BEANS
HASH AND ONIONS
10
ALL STEWED FRUITS 5¢
BUTTERMILK

(Figure #1)



(Figure #2)



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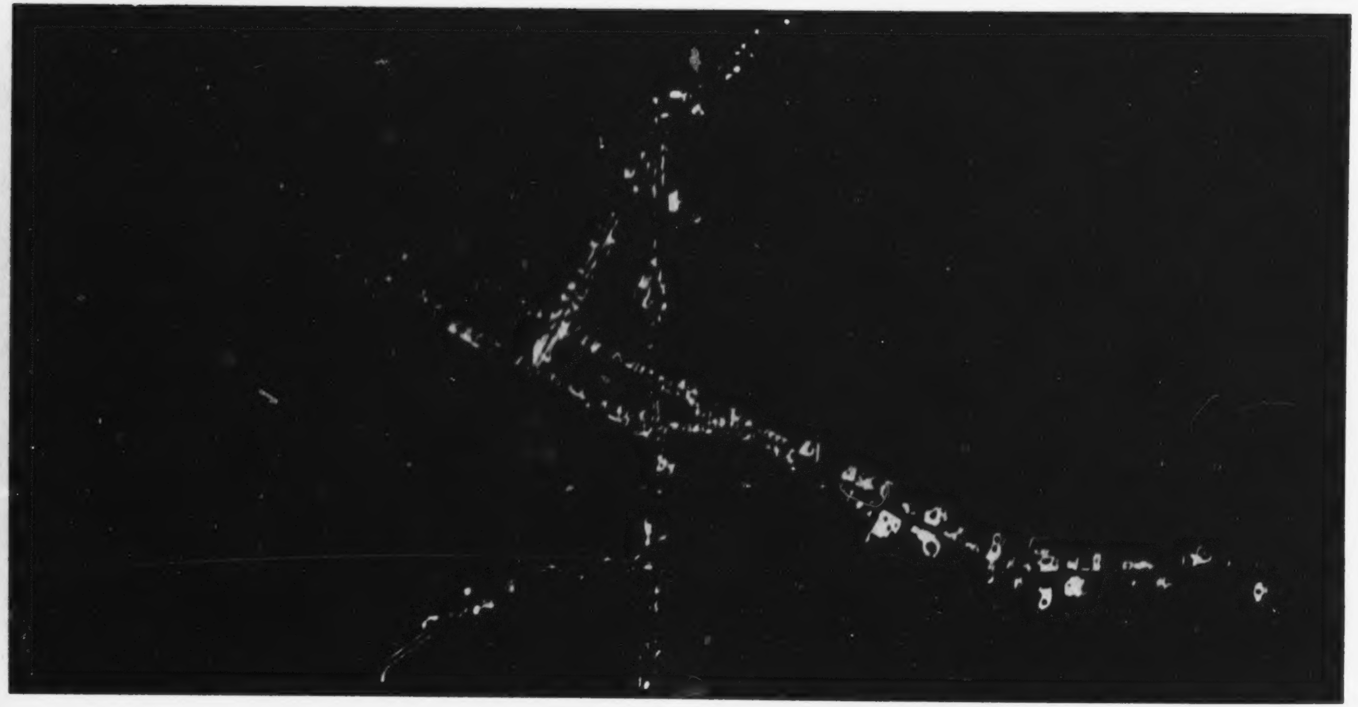
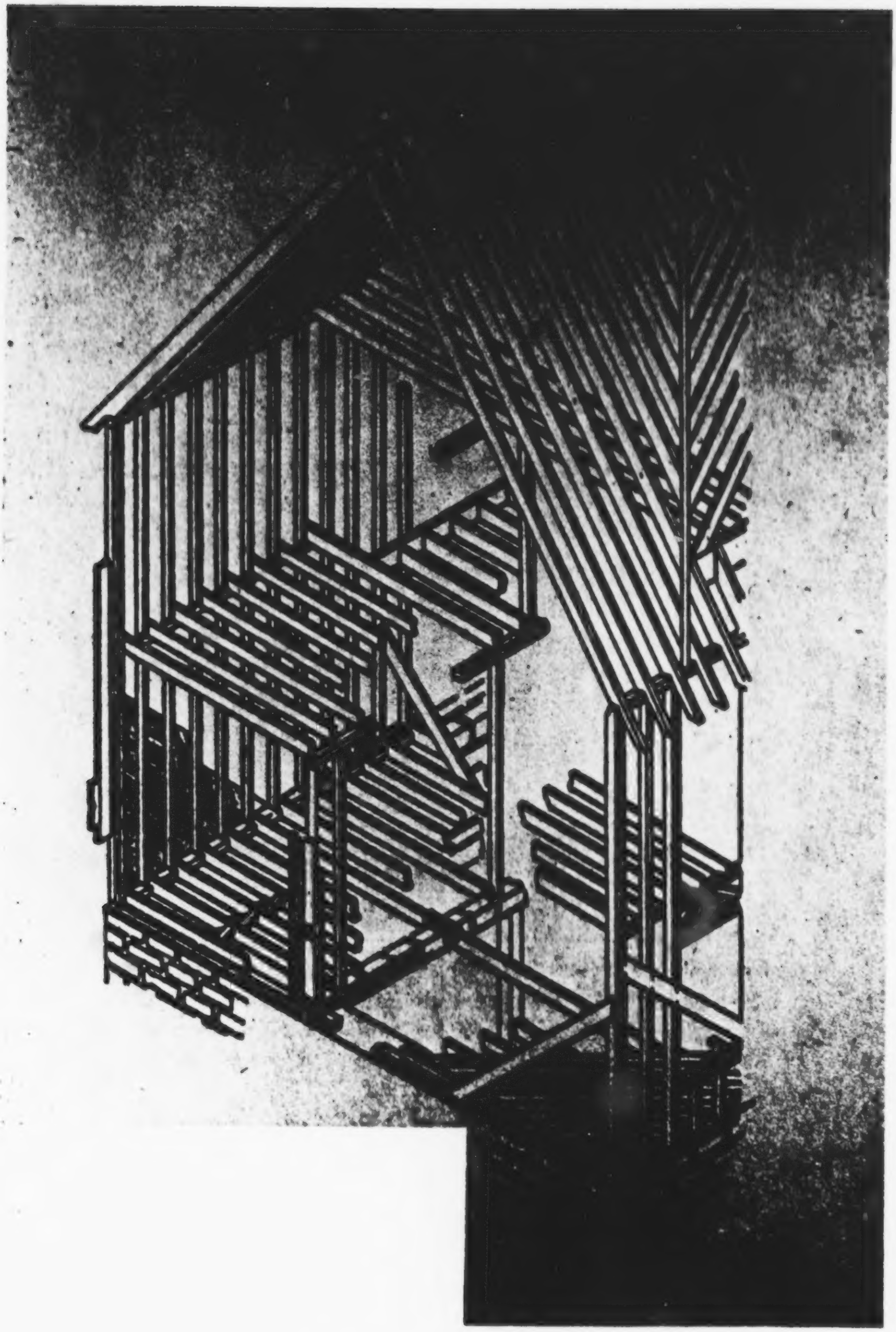


(Figure #4)

most obvious features could certainly be discussed with children in the upper grades: Modena is designed for defense; New York to accommodate shipping; and Las Vegas as a "strip city" has been shaped by the highway that runs through it, and, basically, by the automobile itself.

And so might we use similar techniques for a wide range of visual perspectives that give evidence of social change: diagrams of traditional beam house construction and the so-called balloon frame house that revolutionized mid-nineteenth century construction could be used to discuss why balloon framing made house building so much easier (Figures 5 and 6). A photograph taken of a post-Civil War shipwright's shop with all the workmen clearly in view (Figure 7) could be used to contrast workers in a contemporary shop. A photograph of the Galeria in Milan, a nineteenth-century construction (Figure 8) could be contrasted with a modern covered shopping mall. Details would reveal profound differences between two seemingly similar scenes. Detailed differences would also be revealed in crowd scenes of people engaged in recreation: a skating scene in Central Park in the 1880s and a photograph of the crowded casino at Caesar's Palace in the 1960s (Figures 9 and 10). Something concerning what the industrial revolution has done to the city (and the atmosphere) can be discovered from contrasting the majestic gateway to Venice from the Grand Canal to the baroque Piazza San Marco with the New York railroad yards at the turn of the century, as photographed by Alfred Stieglitz (Figure 11). Photographs of families drawn from different social contexts and moments of history can be informative, as in Paul Strand's picture of a peasant family made in Luzzara, Italy, in 1953 and Walker Evan's picture of a Tennessee poor white family in the mid-thirties (Figures 12 and 13). Finally, many aspects of immigrant experience are graphically represented in photographs made by reformer Jacob Riis in the 1890s.

Classroom analysis of pictures of this kind takes time, considerable patience, and openness on the part of the teacher. It is always the details that prove most interesting and revealing, and students must feel free to locate their own access to the evidence that is embedded within the pictures. Teachers can immediately place these kinds of materials in some sort of context, and students, especially younger ones, must create a historical context from the details they see--a difficult but far more interesting process. A teacher already knows something about peasant culture or the life of New York in 1880. But for the student, it may be a first glimpse into the mysteries of another time and place. Meanwhile, the scope of graphic material is inexhaustible once one begins to search for it with objectives of this kind in mind. In fact, I can't imagine any significant aspect of social change for which graphic evidence cannot be found. Historical experience that precedes the camera is rich; for



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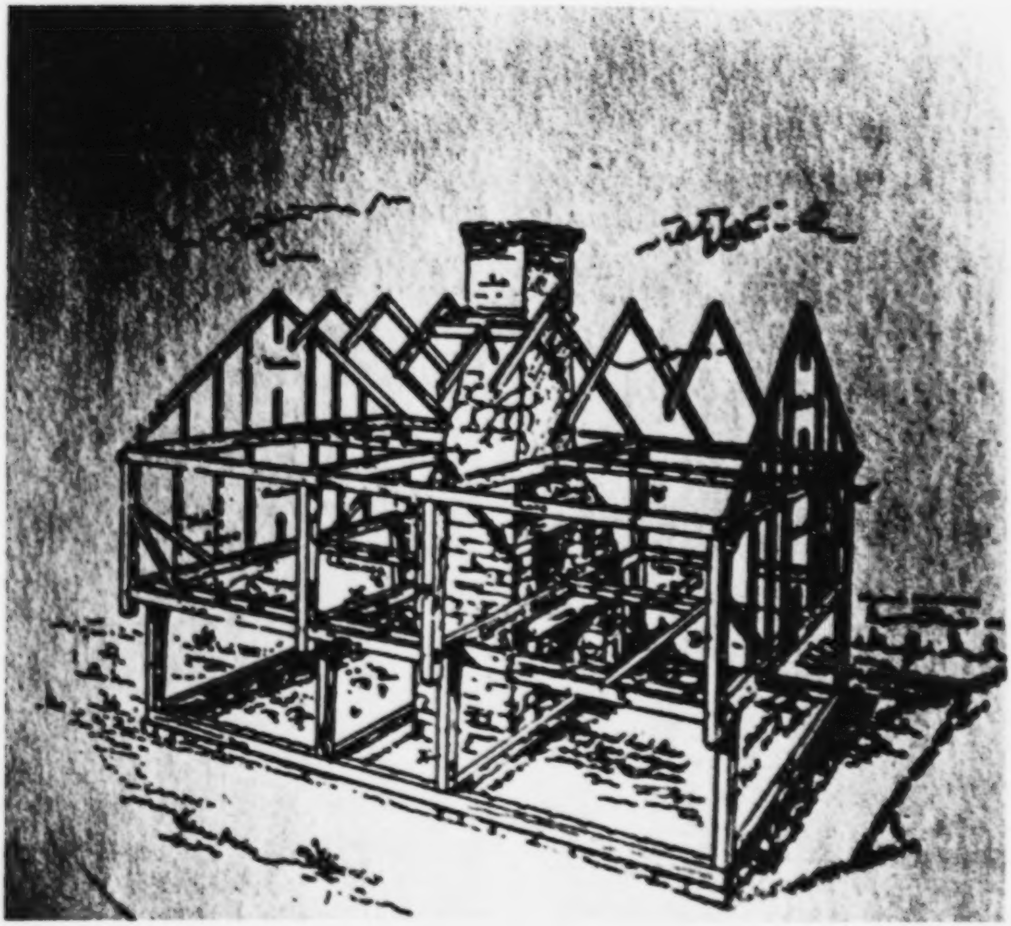

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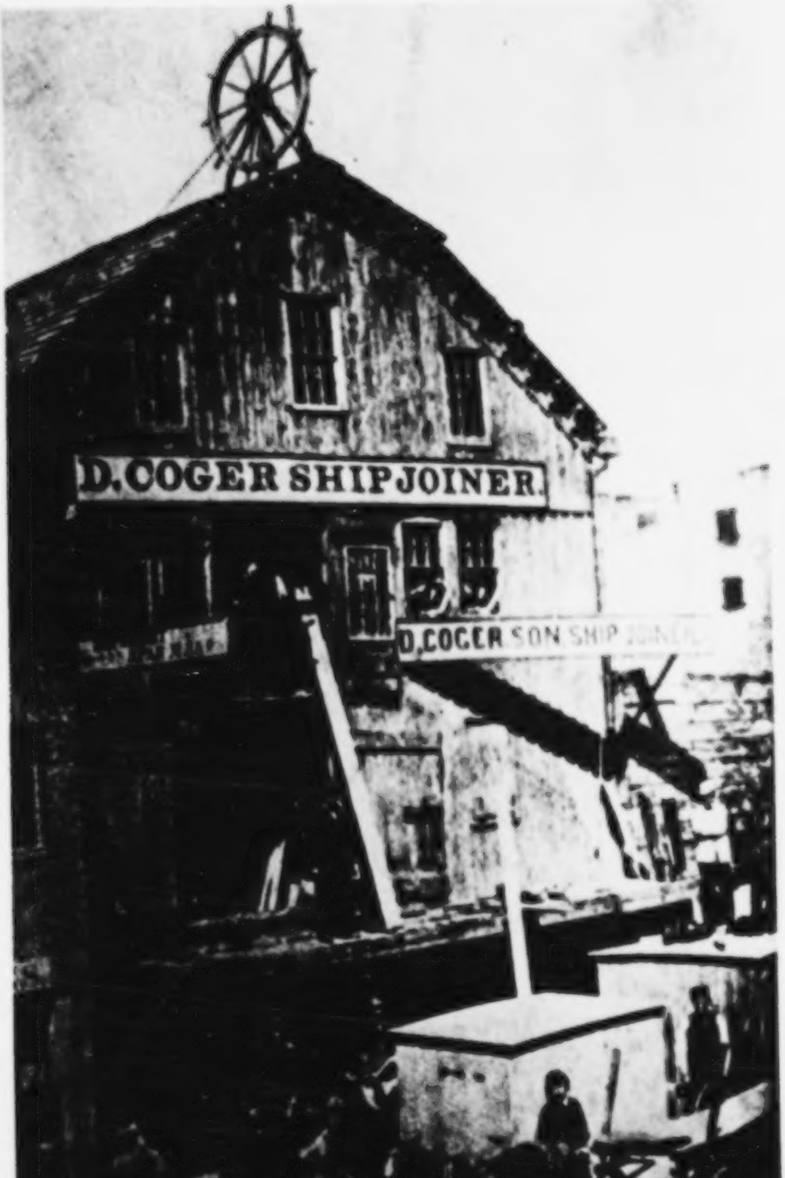
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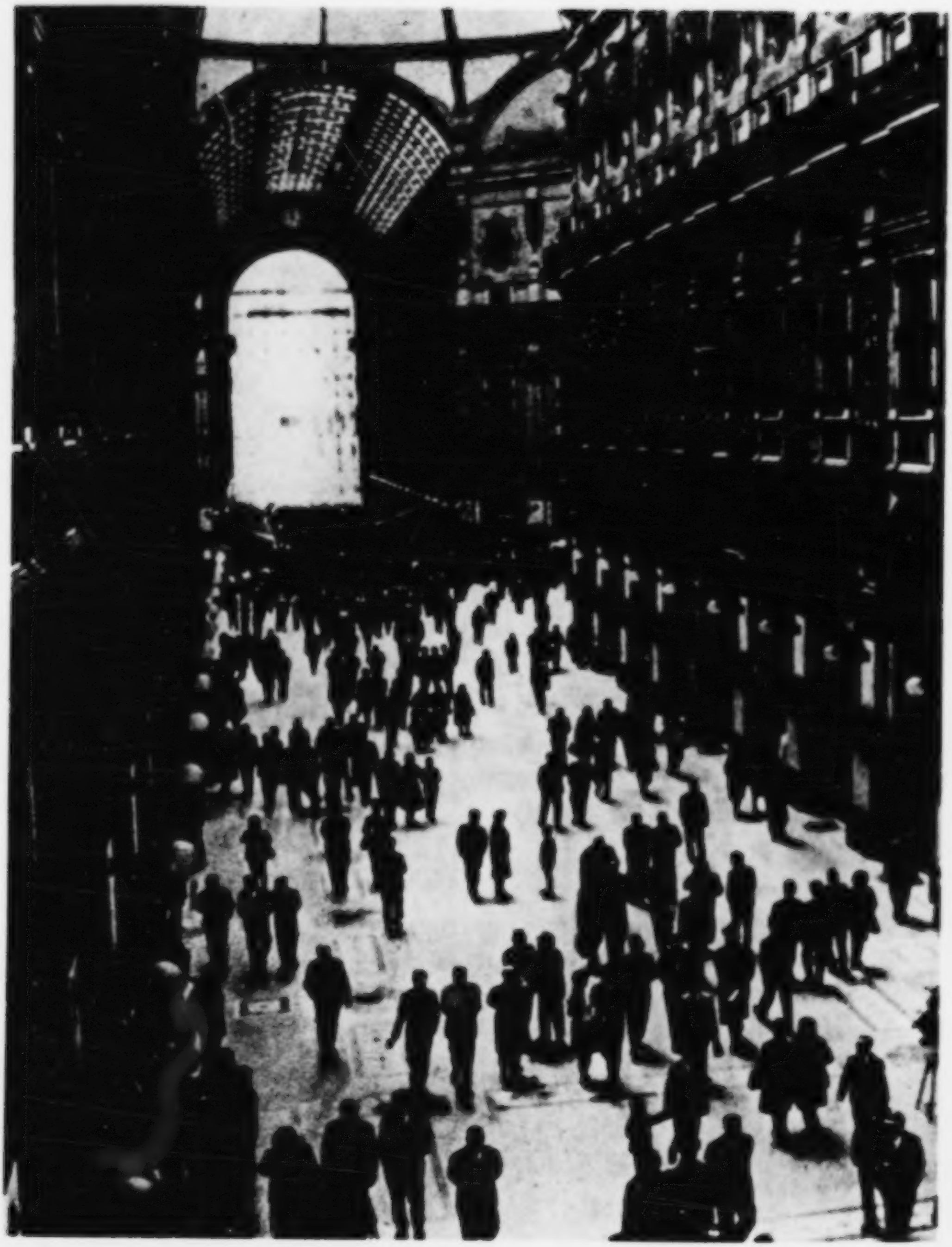
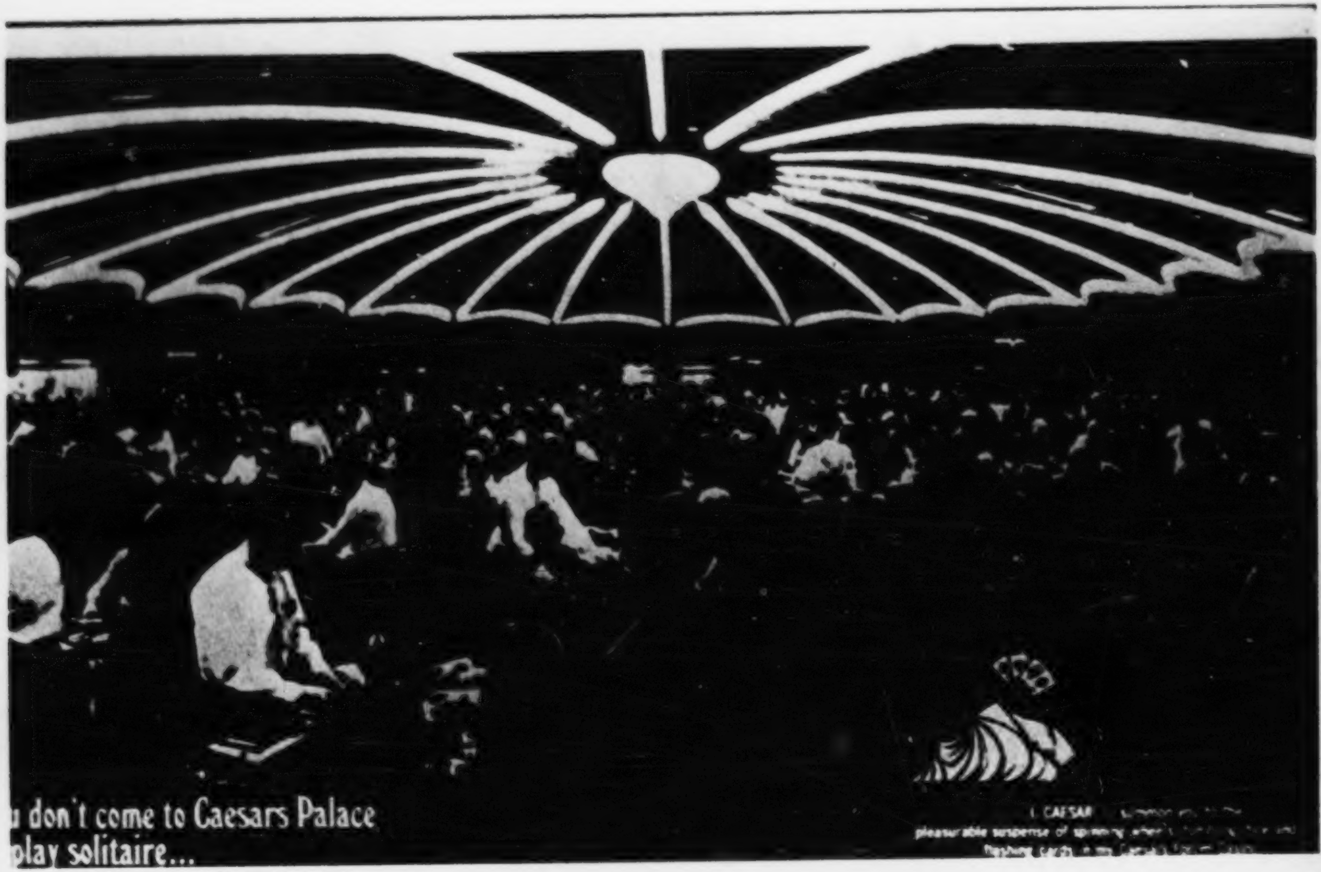
(Figure #7)



(Figure #8)

(Figure #9)


u don't come to Caesars Palace
play solitaire...

(Figure #10)

(Figure #11)

(Figure #12)

(Figure #13)

example, there are the drawings of Hogarth and Daumier, the paintings of Brueghel and other Dutch genre artists, and the countless formal portraits of gentlemen from the sixteenth through the nineteenth century.

Professor Taylor's syllabus for "The Culture of American Cities" follows.

History 327

The Culture of American Cities Fall term 1980

Reading Assignments are for particular class sessions. Be sure to note due dates and page numbers. They have been kept to comparatively brief and specific sections of the books assigned. They will be discussed and analyzed in the discussion period on the assigned date. You will be severely handicapped if you do not do the readings by these dates.

Books for Purchase (in order of use). Asterisks denote essential texts that will be referred to throughout the course. Those with double asterisks are novels and will be read entire.

Mark Twain, Huckleberry Finn**

Sam Bass Warner, The Urban Wilderness*

John Kouwenhoven, The Columbia Historical Portrait of New York*

Robert Toll, Blacking Up

Carl W. Condit, American Building

Robert Sklar, Movie-Made America

F. Scott Fitzgerald, The Great Gatsby**

Dore Ashton, The New York School

Sylvia Plath, The Bell Jar**

Course Requirements: The most important is to master the visual evidences of urban culture exhibited during the lectures and analyzed during the following discussions. Everything else--lectures, reading, discussions and writing assignments--is focused upon obtaining this objective by the end.

There will be a midterm, one or two short analytic written exercises and a final examination.

History 327

The Culture of American Cities — Fall term 1980

CLASS	LECTURE AND DISCUSSION TOPIC	ASSIGNMENT DUE
1.	Introduction: Scope, Concepts and Methods Discussion topic: Nature of course	None
2.	American Society During Urbanization: Town and Village Culture Discussion topic: What do you know about the social character of towns and villages? What do you learn from the opening chapter of Twain?	Huck Finn pp. 1-156
3.	The Process of Urbanization: The uprooting of rural society Discussion topic: Huck Finn, continued	Finish Huck Finn
4.	Nineteenth-Century New York City: Port, Marketplace Discussion topic: Warner Reading and Plates (the characteristics of the preindustrial "big city")	Warner, Urban Wilderness, pp. 55-85
5.	Nineteenth-Century New York City (continued) Discussion: Visual characteristics of the big city	Kouwenhoven pp. 242-330
6.	The City as a Cultural Environment and Marketplace	

	Discussion topic: Minstrel Theatre as a Commodity	Toll, *Blacking Up*, pp. 134-187
7.	City as a Cultural Environment: An Attempt to Restructure--the designing of Central Park	
	Discussion topic: Central Park	Olmsted *Handout*
8.	The Modern City Takes Shape: Changes in Technology and Architecture	
	Discussion topic: Condit Readings and Significance of Word "Modern" As Applied to Cities	Condit, *American Building*, pp. 87-86, 178-191
9.	Hotels, Hypes and Cameras: the Rise of Celebrity	
	Discussion topic: Fame and Figure Photography (using Brady daguerreotypes on slides)	Harris, *Handout*
10.	The City as Theatre: Skyscraper, Skyline and Urban Stylishness	
	Discussion topic: Lecture slides and Taylor chapter	Taylor *Handout* "Origin of the Skyline"
11.	MIDTERM	
12.	The Modern City as a Social System	
	Discussion topic: The significance of apartment houses and office buildings and the new Downtowns	Warner, pp. 85-113
13.	Coming to Terms with the Modern City	Kouwenhoven pp. 355-471

	Discussion topic: The camera as an instrument of adaptation Showing of Paul Strand's *Manhatta* and excerpts of *King Kong*	
14.	Turn of the Century New York Society: Palaces of purchase and finance Showing of *Chaplin Shorts: The Bank and the Floorwalker*	Kouwenhoven pp. 335-471 Sklar, *Movie-Made America*, pp. 1-64
15.	The Twenties: The Coming of Urban Sophistication Discussion topic: The *Gatsby* party as symbol of Twenties society	Fitzgerald, *The Great Gatsby*, (entire)
16.	The *Twenties* in fact and in memory The showing of excerpts from *Grand Hotel*	Sklar, Chapter 11
17.	The Twenties (miscellany): artists, Theatre and the Broadway and Greenwich Village myths Discussion topic: Modernism and arts	Ashton, *The New York School*, pp. 1-51
18.	New York Goes National: The Rise of the Hollywood Musical Showing of excerpts from *Top Hat* and *Forty-Second Street*	
19.	Thirties Documentaries and the Myth of Social Solidarity	Warner, pp. 113-153

	Discussion topic: Excerpts from Frank Capra's *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town*	
20.	The Post-Modern City Discussion topic: The Reorganization of American Cities after World War II	
21.	The Concept of Post-Modernism as Applied to the Arts Discussion topic: Ashton reading and slides, New York school paintings	Ashton, pp. 134-233
22.	The Camera Turns Against the City: Urban Documentary Photography from Evans to Diane Arbus Discussion topic: Lecture Slides	Begin Plath, *The Bell Jar*
23.	New Post-War Architecture and Structural Forms	Venturi handout
24.	The Post-War City: "Residue of Dreams"	Complete *The Bell Jar*
25.	Discussion of Sylvia Plath's *Bell Jar* New York Urban Culture: The Cycle or Change Discussion topic: Course review	
26.	Concluding Class Showing of *Midnight Cowboy*	

DISCUSSION:

The Question of World History

PROFESSOR WEINSTEIN: It does seem to me that there is a good deal of agreement that whatever courses we teach, however we do it, we want to deal with evidence, and show students how historians deal with evidence. We want to show them how important the past is to them in some respects. We want to discuss change in time as well as continuity. These are all the things that make up thinking historically.

The one thing that we have not confronted, and the one thing that we need to discuss is whether there is any agreement on a body of knowledge about the past. We don't want to get into epistomological disputes because I don't think they are pertinent.

Is it enough to, say, take Bill Taylor's course, and you really learn an enormous amount about history, about the making of history, and the studying of history, but you don't know anything about the Greeks, or the Romans, or what part cities play in civilization. You don't know anything about the Middle Ages and feudalism.

I am just trying to open up that question. Does an educated person coming out of the university today need to know those things?

PROFESSOR TAYLOR: The feeling is that an undergraduate, not necessarily a history major, but any undergraduate who studies history ought to become familiar with something called "the West," at least from its inception, through to the time in which he or she lives. It is not that any particular part of the progression is important or essential; it is the experience of a long progression of change which is important. It is only comparatively recently that historians in great numbers have abandoned that idea.

There is now another view, which is that if you cannot have that long progression, then maybe there are priority historical developments, like industrial civilization, that people should know about. Or they should know about the historical plight of the West in the twentieth century. They should know about developments that are taking place outside the West that seem to define its condition historically.

We are faced with making very clear choices, it seems to me. We cannot have everything. We can't have intensive courses that introduce history students to our own thinking, and our kinds of materials, and have historical progression, and have the kind of emphasis on priority events that would give students a clear orientation.

PROFESSOR SUSMAN: It would be interesting to know whether in fact if history came back as a required course, and departments were allowed to choose the course, whether Don is not right, and they would all go back to the very traditional course. Is there not a fundamental belief that historians have that you ought to know something about the world?

PROFESSOR HALSTED: I wish someone would indicate to me what are the grounds upon which this choice would be made. What is the image of the growing child, or whatever, that is involved here?

PROFESSOR WEINSTEIN: If I have raised this issue, and insist on it, I have some responsibility to discuss it. My own view is in one sense very present oriented, when we are talking about an introductory course, and not about history generally.

I start with the question, which I cannot entirely answer, God knows: what are the major historical developments that have shaped the present society in which I live, and (to the extent that history is determinative) that have shaped me as a product of largely Western culture?

I start with that question, and then I try to work back. My views on that have changed greatly over the last fifteen or twenty years. For one thing, in designing a model introductory course, I would now give much more attention to the relations between the Western world, so-called, and the larger Asian and non-Western world, because I have learned a little bit more à la Bill McNeill about the interrelations of the various parts of the Eurasian land mass, and so on. That is where I would begin, and I would go back, and I would try to deal with that question.

That is not the only question that would be involved for me. I would also look at present institutions, like the state, and the economic system, the Western value system, and so on. I would want to look at not only where they came from, but what they came out of, and what they played up against.

In order to understand the nature of the modern state, it seems to me that you have to know alternative systems, what alternative systems there have been in the past--feudalism, for example, the Roman form of government, the city and state. I think only in that context can people begin to understand where they are, and how history is meaningful to them, both as a shaping experience and as an intellectual experience.

I don't think that this needs to be done by only transmitting a body of information. I think that it can be done in a spirit and within a mode of inquiry. I think that you can give one lecture, let us say, on the fall of Rome, and take up the whole concept of fall, and the whole concept of mass migration. Obviously, it is going to be superficial for anybody who is a specialist in that, but I don't think those notions or those concepts are superficial.

MR. FASOLT: What this whole conference to me seems to reflect is that we have lost a point of view on which we can rely. It is no longer the point of view of one nation. Maybe in Germany or in France in the nineteenth century it was enough to know German history alone, or French history alone, but that is no longer the case.

It is even no longer the case to know about traditional Western civilization, that is no longer an acceptable point of view if one states it as an exclusive point of view.

What is the point of view, what is the perspective which ought to determine the content of the first course? For me personally, I really see no other alternative, no other convincing alternative than to teach world history.

It has also made me think of what Sandi Cooper said about the moral purpose of teaching Western civilization, the idea of helping to prevent the First World War caused by narrow nationalistic views. If there is such a moral purpose in what we are facing today, it is a problem of another world war, perhaps not so much based on nationalism, but on ideologies.

If one wants to overcome those limitations, then I think that one must teach world history. I think that is the only acceptable criterion for me personally, as the introductory course.

How one would go about that, I really don't know. I think that is really a problem that we cannot solve at this point.

I think that we simply don't have the framework, we don't have the map, as far as content is concerned. What the first course should be doing in my view (on top of teaching the methods, the skills, the values, and all of those things) is presenting students with a map of the discipline, with a framework, so that they can fit any piece of historical information in a certain context, so that they know where it belongs.

That map must include not only the traditional history of Western civilization, but economic history, the history of women, the history of South America, the history of Africa, the history of China. All of that must be there in some way, so that at least they know where something belongs, and what it means in as vast as possible a context.

I think that we don't know how to do that at this point because we don't have a balanced view of world history. There is no world history, I think. Whenever one looks at world history, it is always Western history, with additions.

PROFESSOR HOLLISTER: I think that we have a moral obligation, among other things, to be realistic. I would hope that we do not collectively opt for world history at this point, although I would be quite happy to suggest that we work on it. If we do that at the expense of Western civilization, we will be urging our profession into something that it cannot do, giving up something that it can do, sometimes badly.

But I believe that Western civilization is taught much more coherently than world history. The masses of historians who would be appointed to the survey class are not able to teach world history in a coherent way.

"The West and the World," I have been advocating right through this meeting. But a true world history, non-prejudiced, non-western oriented, is something that we cannot do.

PROFESSOR SUSMAN: An additional point is that it may be global in one way, but not global in many other ways. At least when we are talking about Western civilization there are cerain things which fall into place. There would be agreement on what we are talking about.

I don't think that we are anywhere near that area of agreement about something that we call world history or global history. I think that it becomes even more difficult. What do you leave out? What do you include? Among the people who teach world history or global history, there is considerable confusion about what the criteria for selection are.

PROFESSOR HALSTED: Could I suggest something with regard to this issue of determining some criteria upon the basis of which to make a decision.

If we begin to worry about what students need to know, I hope we know that they need to know an awful lot more than we can provide for them, something that among other things their priests and ministers provide for them.

It seems to me that one area where we can speak with confidence, and with considerable self-respect is with regard to the nature of our subject matter. If we have confidence that our subject is worth knowing, then some of these other issues begin to become less crucial.

It does seem to me that the state of that subject matter, where the historical profession is at any given moment, begins to help us determine what historians, aware of the state of their profession or discipline, should in fact be teaching.

I think our profession, in effect, is continually telling us, here are things that you should be teaching. One would hope that we all might be both aware pedagogically and historically.

PROFESSOR WARSHAW: I think that it is possible that one of the places that the profession is, is that it is developing a subdiscipline called world history in which people who are involved in that very deeply have not yet had a chance to think about a lot of the things that differentiate their subdiscipline from the other parts of the discipline.

I would like as soon as possible to hear from people like Don Weinstein, as we have head from Kevin Reilly, what they do include in the course. That might help even them discover what their principles of selectivity are that they might not even be aware of. Then they can be brought out abstractly and critically appreciated and criticized.

PROFESSOR HALSTED: I get acutely uncomfortable when we start talking about moral purposes and selecting our materials in relationship to those moral purposes, partly because I like to think that the moral purposes I hold are ultimately universal. I am always faced with the possibility that someone will turn to me and say: "I do not wish to share your moral purposes. Therefore, I cannot take your course."

I would rather find something more pragmatic, more utilitarian, rather than to say, "I want to change your moral view of the universe." But rather to say, "I want to help you perceive the universe in a better fashion." Obviously there are a lot of moral things buried in that statement, but perhaps less assertive ones.

MR. FASOLT: If I may add to that, if I seemed to suggest that I wanted to select materials according to moral purposes, then I expressed myself very badly, because I don't want to say that.

I think that history has a moral function--not ony a moral function. I think that the knowledge of the past is a good beginning in itself. But I think that history on top of that does have a moral function.

I certainly would not want to be taught by somebody who is teaching in order to defend a certain moral aim, except in order to contradict it, perhaps. But what I think is needed is to find a criterion which is in itself not moral in history--a historical criterion to determine what it is that we ought to teach, and what is that sort of criterion.

All I can say is that I agree very much that in the present situation it would be much better to continue teaching Western civilization than teaching world history, except for the preliminary sense, because I really believe there is no world history, and I don't think that there will be world history for some time to come, simply because the knowledge does not exist.

That is a practical consideration, and it has no influence on the work that I think ought to be done. What I still continue to think ought to be taught is world history. I think, in effect, that will mean that the greater part of a course like that would deal with Western civilization, because if we think that it is important for us to know about China, and to know about Africa, I am sure that people who live in Africa and China will feel much more strongly that they have to know about Western civilization. For that reason, Western civilization would have to occupy a greater part, but just a greater part, not the whole thing.

PROFESSOR ANTLER: The idea of a world history course raises the possibility of team teaching as a way to do it. There are different specialists in the history department; if we think that it is a valid concept for an introductory course, one way to do it might be to share our expertise with others in the department.

I think that here we might take a leaf of the women's studies experience. In most universities, not in mine, most women's studies are taught by a variety of people, with the idea that women's experience is just too broad for any one particular specialist to know it. This might be something to think about, too.

PROFESSOR SUSMAN: I would have no objection to any of that. I certainly would have no objection to teaching world history simply on the face of it. But I think that one ought to talk about each of these in terms of trying to make a case.

Why not teach world history? What is it that those particular goals are to be? From almost everything Constantine [Fasolt] said, one could justify a whole series of courses. I don't think that the notion of world history is the only way of getting at the problems of coping with that kind of world.

PROFESSOR HOLLISTER: A couple of qualifications, since I missed part of the attack.

I find myself in complete agreement with you, Constantine, as qualified by your last statement, and I have been essentially going to say this. Again, "the West and the World" model does in my mind present a coherent way of teaching history.

Secondly, on the question of competence, I must have implied that we are not competent to teach world history, but I did not mean that we did not have any staff available for the subject matter. At UCSB, and I suppose at a lot of other places, survey courses are team taught.

By competence, I did not mean to question specialists in the non-Western world, which most campuses have. I meant something else, which is a question of our competence to provide coherence and organization--intelligent organization to such courses.

I still think that the world is becoming one, and I think that the most important function of history, insofar as it ought to be the possession of a liberally educated human being, is to give the human being the knowledge that he would need in order to determine his position in the world, and not only in America, and not only in Europe, and not only as a member of the elite.

PROFESSOR WEINSTEIN: I would associate myself very much with that model--I was going to say that I am with Warren Hollister on this--"the West and the world," because the West is our perspective from which we see the world, and because it happens to be closer to us.

PROFESSOR ANTLER: We have been talking about sort of a general feeling about the West and the world, or the world and the West. How does American history fit into that?

PROFESSOR SUSMAN: I am not sure that I can answer that question.

There is a simple part of that question. American historians are frequently badly trained. That is, they don't know any history other than a certain very limited area of American history, and they don't see it in the right kind of context.

You see a course in American history like Bill's, the model that was just presented, which seems to me to demand a breadth, although Europe is not mentioned. That is, it deals with issues and materials which demand a greater sense or larger context than is frequently true of most American courses.

I could teach the American history survey to undergraduates who had Western civilization the year before. When you ask who Lincoln's contemporaries are in Europe to try to make a point about the state and about his view of why the Union must be preserved, and you try to get them to say who was operating in Europe, they don't have the vaguest idea.

It is not that they don't know, if you took them back and talked about it in the European context. They don't assume that anybody in America is living at the same time that anybody in Europe is living, and that they operated in terms of the same kind of problems about the rise of the national state, etc.

It happens to be a function of the way we teach all of these subjects, and the way we have always taught these subjects, how very limited our relationship in American history is to any sense of European or world background. This is even truer in graduate studies. It becomes even less liberal in terms of the commitment to highly specialized knowledge, unless you are lucky.

Unless you take an interesting topic, or something like Bill Taylor's course, it is not likely that you are going to be broadened. Your are going to be narrowed. I don't know what the answer is.

PROFESSOR ANTLER: I am just wondering, in this ideal Western civilization course that some of you will be giving, how important is it to include the U.S. experience.

PROFESSOR SUSMAN: This is one place where I would disagree with most of the traditional Western civilization courses. I think that it is absolutely ridiculous to omit the United States, at least from the eighteenth century on. I would argue that we could do something with the seventeenth century, too.

It does seem to me that they are perfect examples that fit into a larger category of western Europe that ought to be dealt with, so that we don't have this sense of one history and another in this particular context.

PROFESSOR HOLLISTER: I think that ignoring American history is really a pedagogical accident. It is assumed that the U.S. survey is required.

PROFESSOR SUSMAN: That is right. That is what has happened.

PROFESSOR HOLLISTER: It seems to me that the nation-West-world model did not, in moving to the West, exclude the nation. Teaching an American history survey is terribly important. A question I deliberately avoided in my commentary on the [Marathon, Wisconsin] American history survey is whether American history should be a model for an introductory course.

I think that this is a question that we cannot quite come to grips with, because it depends so heavily on the requirement structure of various campuses. Most have an American history institutional requirement which funnels a lot of students into the U.S. history survey.

Secondly, I heartily agree with what you have said, and what Bill Taylor has demonstrated, about the value of studying a history, the artifacts of which are all around you.

Thirdly, my worry about world history in that American history does have a tradition of teaching that is evolving, very often in good ways, and there is an extremely powerful body of scholarship behind it. In all of these ways, it makes it a valuable course to teach.

PROFESSOR SUSMAN: There is one other thing that needs to be said, and which we did not spend enough time on. That is the question of trying to figure out the consequences of what we have done.

[At Rutgers] we have a requirement that if you are a history major, you must have one semester of European history, one semester of American history, and you must get one semester of non-Western. We sort of feel terribly self-satisfied with that. We have covered all the bases. Yet, we haven't got the vaguest idea if our students are getting anything out of this variety, if they are able to put it together in any kind of meaningful way, whether they are making any linkages, whether the fact that they are taking these courses has significance in their lives whatsoever. We are just sort of satisfied with the requirements.

One of the reasons that I am hesitant about going back to history requirements, although I value them as well, is that I am not sure that we would know what we were doing in terms of having the particular requirements, and whether we would ever be able to assess what we have done, or what the consequences were.

This seems to me to be a problem that we have in ways which are somewhat different than most other disciplines, unless you want to assume that there is a certain body of facts or data that you want to test on.

PROFESSOR VAN TASSEL: The time has come. This discussion will go on, no doubt, in the far flung regions of the United States, wherever you go.

CONCLUSION

Warren Susman

The conference made no report or recommendations. Rather it provided me with a special assignment: on the basis of a careful reading of the verbatim stenographic record of all discussion, prepare a short report on the major themes and issues, agreements and disagreements and comment from my own personal perspective on what I believed to be significant outcomes.

Briefly--and perhaps too boldly--here are some of the major conclusions that the record suggests:

1. There can no longer be one introductory course for there is no one model possible to serve this function at all institutions for all students.

2. Memorization of fact ought not to be a substitute for thinking. In fact, thinking historically is one of a series of basic skills that can be developed in an introductory course and the development of these skills is probably more important than the communication of the facts.

3. "Historical facts should not eclipse the scholarly process through which historians reach them, refine them, and debate them." There is much about the processes of historical inquiry and interpretation themselves that are of special value to all students. not simply to those interested in the study of history. Therefore, all students should somehow in their introductory course learn to operate as historians do to develop these special abilities as well.

4. "Relevance is vulgar and indispensible." All introductory courses should be built in large part on an understanding of student interests, situations, and needs.

5. Such "relevance" cannot be approached unless the historian's mission to deal with human continuity and change over time and space include an

examination of the private as well as the public, the role of women as well as men, the view from below as well as the vision from the top of society. This also means that all introductory courses, even the more traditional Western civilization and American history survey course, must make some effort to include an examination of a larger world, a more global vision.

6. In spite of the fact (or maybe because of it) that it is not possible to think of one model for an introductory course, it is desirable to think in terms of the achievement of more common ground for all students, perhaps in skills, in understanding history as process, or even in achieving or maintaining some form of cultural literacy which all can share.

These conclusions are unexceptional and I suspect unexceptionable. Many of the propositions are expressed as goals or even wishes. Little is suggested about how they might--assuming that would be in fact desirable--be achieved. But they all do suggest some important currents in our professional culture itself and I think finally raise questions not only related to the teaching of history but to the very nature of the discipline as enterprise.

In spite of the fact that textbook publishers continue to revise and commission new texts for what remains a dominant course in Western civilization at many colleges and universities and the same fact holds true for basic survey courses in American history, those who gathered at Annapolis did not believe that this pattern could in fact hold or could do the necessary job. Students, institutions, teachers, scholars are all so different, their interests so diverse, their needs so exceptional from case to case that there was a consensus that it made no sense at all looking for one course or even one kind of course (like Western civilization) that could possibly satisfy in all or even in most cases. While much attention had to be paid to differences in student preparation, ability, and interests, there was also serious examination of student needs as well as faculty interests and needs. For some, the inability to designate a single introductory course indicated serious problems: a crisis of confidence among historians in what they had to provide and a growing cultural illiteracy that meant there was limited common ground from which to begin.

Did historians have, in fact, a body of certain knowledge that was of general value to all students? Did all students have the kind of background, expecially the kind of cultural understanding and awareness to enable them to take advantage of whatever historical knowledge historians did have to offer? Too often throughout the conference the answers for many were negative. The problem was not only an intellectual one, however, but also a moral one. If the teaching of history was a moral enterprise (and more of this key issue later) then what were the responsibilities of teachers of history? How ought they prepare their students? What was it important for them to know? Would this depend on the nature of the students?

It was one of the ironies that attended the conference that there was so much discussion of the problem of cultural literacy. The failure of students to share in a common historical cultural awareness that helped many teachers to decide there could not be one common introductory course had in fact been in large part the justification, the very rationale for the traditional course in Western civilization that began to flourish in the between-the-wars period and was the standard introductory course (and perhaps still is) from then on. It proposed, among other things, to provide an understanding of a common heritage and a system of values. While it is clear that current so-called cultural illiteracy cannot be attributed to the failure of courses in Western civilization to do their assigned job, it does suggest that educational objectives have to keep pace, somehow, with changing social situations and cultural circumstances.

Many participants at the conference felt no crisis of confidence here. They in fact rejoiced at the creative possibilities made possible by the demands of various students for various courses. There were those who cherished and rejoiced in all this new diversity and saw it as a great creative opportunity characteristic of what was in fact happening within the discipline itself where recent scholarship added more complexity, diversity, and therefore controversy. That is, the challenge was not simply the result of changing student abilities but rather the result of the changing nature of the discipline of history itself. New and varied courses might be precisely the way to find out what it all means, to restructure and reorganize the complex material of history in new and more meaningful ways.

Clearly a new argument is developing for sustaining the study of history in our colleges and universities and even more in justification of an introductory course in history. This argument holds that the study of history is fundamental because of the skills it develops or ought to develop in students. Thus an introductory history course becomes a course in mastering basic skills necessary to the liberal arts and to an effective career after college. Some of these are defined in terms of simple behavioral objectives:

1. effective reading, writing, speaking;
2. investigating, analyzing, arguing, criticizing;
3. perceiving (learning how and why we see or understand the way we do), conceptualizing (learning how and why we make and use abstractions), the use of analogy and metaphor.

Surely students in history courses--one would hope all liberal arts courses--get additional experience and training in all these skills but in what sense can the development of these skills be said to be basic particularly to history?

Many of these skills are related to the more general question of the use of evidence, supposedly something of special significance in historical study. Drawing conclusions from the evidence seemed to many a basic value of historical study. Here a brief was made for the extension of the kinds of evidence used. In addition to various traditional written documents, students should be trained to use quantitative evidence, maps, records, photographs, works of art and architecture, objects from the material culture, song and dance, records, movies, newsreels and TV documentaries as well as newspapers, etc. Given the vastness of the "evidence" and the variety of problems associated with the use of such materials and the building of arguments on the basis of such evidence, this stress in skills might very well mean a sacrifice of historical content to the emphasis on the historian's method or process.

Whatever the consequences, this interest in student skills so evident at the conference was part of an intensive interest in the introductory course essentially shaping or changing the student in significant ways--although not always so much through new knowledge as through new skills that are expected to lead to new attitudes. The use of evidence should lead finally to the development of the arts (or should it be sciences?) of explanation and interpretation. They should learn how to know what constitutes a satisfactory explanation and how that differs from an effective interpretation. There was considerable reference to "thinking historically" (everyone thought that was a good thing for everyone to do) and although it was never defined it seemed to mean understanding that all human activity was ultimately (?) historical in character. Historical thinking will get students to see themselves and the institutions and values of their day as products of the past, revealing the relativity of ideas, institutions, ways of life. Historical awareness will train students to value the achievements of civilization over time. It will also upset students and make them critics of the present. History will "open minds" to the discovery of "real" questions and real problems and sharpen a focus in the definition of a problem that will thereby assist students in dealing with policy issues.

But most fundamentally the argument becomes a moral one. Historical understanding leads first to a feeling for the experience of others, to empathy or sympathy, essential and moral sentiments. And it leads as well to a recognition and acceptance of diversity, and acceptance of complexity, and acceptance of controversy as if it were a necessary part of the world in which we live. Thus, historical understanding is held to enable us to make decisions, the better those decisions the more moral the act. Thus the final argument for "skills" maintains a moral assignment for historical understanding and thinking and makes history a moral discipline, perhaps producing "better" people as a consequence of their study of history.

If I have insisted on my own rather skeptical stance in this discussion of introductory history as skills, this is not because I have not held most of these views myself and defended virtually all these propositions. From simple behavioral skills to complex moral ones, historical study most certainly does involve "skills." But what discipline doesn't and are the most elaborate propositions either verified or verifiable? What impresses over all is the exceptional concern for students and the belief that what matters most in a course is what happens to him or her and, in effect, how they behave rather than what they know. Early in our deliberations there was a plea entered to use our courses to help students "find their own voices." My reading and rereading of the transcripts made me recall a famous letter that the great Jacob Burckhardt wrote to the great Nietzsche in 1874.

> Yet as a teacher and lecturer I think I may say that I never taught history for the sake of the thing which goes by the high-falutin name of world history, but essentially as a general subject. My task was to put people into possession of that solid foundation which is indispensible to their further work if it is not to become aimless. I have done what I could to bring them to take personal possession of the past--in any shape or form--at any rate not to sicken them of it. I wanted them to be capable of plucking the fruits for themselves, nor have I ever had in mind to train scholars or disciples in the narrower sense; all I aimed at was to make every member of my audience feel and know that everyone may and must take independent possession of what appeals to him personally, and that there is joy in so doing.

I believe that most of those who gathered at Annapolis would have nodded in agreement with the famous historian and teacher of 100 years ago. Nothing was more striking than the deep concern with students. There was much less concern about historical fact. Indeed, there were warnings, near the close of our meeting that our deep concern for student needs might tempt teachers into a kind of "presumptuousness." "If we begin to worry about what students need to know, I hope we know that they need to know an awful lot more than we can provide for them, something that among other things their priests and ministers provide for them."

The emphasis on skills and student needs often led to treating history primarly as inquiry and little as a body of knowledge, as something known. The insistence, too, on a variety of basic or introductory courses raised the question of whether history did indeed have a suject matter? What has happened, one participant asked, to the experience of life, the "existential aspect?" Is there a subject to be grasped as well as skills available to help in the grasping? Is history a discipline in the normal sense of that term, a distinctive set of intellectual strategies for understanding the world and its people, a particular form of knowledge, structuring experience with the use of meaningful public symbols?

Once upon a time, the story would have, there was an objective body of historical knowledge that might be passed with relative ease from generation to generation. Alas, today, while there is a body of knowledge, it has grown so vast, complex, diverse that no one can tell what is significant or important. Obviously, this view represents myth rather than history. What is in fact the case is that new knowledge and new interests in a changing social and moral order raise serious questions about relative significance or about our criterion for selection of information to be presented. That is not a new problem for the historian as scholar or as teacher. It has always gone with the territory. The traditional Western civilization course had a more or less agreed upon hierachy of facts and values; virtually every course and every text book stressed at least the same developments and events. That vision was the consequence of a particular time and place, a specific situation.

"We no longer have a point of view on which we can rely." This was the charge presented to the conference. What was meant, in effect, is that there are competing points of view, controversy about significant visions, complexity as the consequence of broadening historical concern--the private, women, the view from below, everyday life, cultural history. The older visions cannot contain the new bodies of knowledge; the older formulations and conceptual boundaries don't adjust themselves easily. And Western civilization--that neat package--finds itself looked down upon by other more global visions.

There is a confusion about the selection of property from the vaster body of knowledge--what is it to be used for and why? But if you don't have or can't develop criteria for the basis of making judgements of importance, or deciding what to include or exclude, do you really have a discipline or a subject to teach?

Clearly the profession knows the state of subject matter at any given moment. All of this raises the question of the relationship between scholarship and teaching not significantly addressed at the conference. But what finally did appear to be central was the proposition that there were some things at least on which we could agree, as simple as those were: the importance of change over time, the significance of a development like the French Revolution, etc. But, secondly, and even more importantly, the problem of selection belonged to the teacher and he or she was professionally and even more significantly personally--morally--bound to make that selection. Obviously, the teacher was conditioned by training and discipline; but he or she was also a morally responsible agent. His or her course was a creation, a personal creative act. The decisions were his or hers, based on a reasonable and public criterion. The teacher not only has such a criterion; he or she also operates in terms of a conceptual framework, an analytical point of view--all of which should be open to public scrutiny. In this sense the act of teaching is a moral act.

The role of the teacher in shaping the course, the importance of his or her self-expression, the significance of classroom innovation and experimentation, team teaching and the like--all of these things argued for the importance of the course experience not simply for the students but also for the teacher as well. These special needs again personalized the very process of teaching. No two courses--very much like no two books on the same subject--could possibly be exactly alike.

I was impressed with the emphasis that appears over and over in the transcript on teaching and learning as moral acts and on history as a moral discipline. Indeed, one participant challenged the group: can someone really live morally in this world without having historical knowledge, that is knowing the boundaries of his own condition? Yet I wonder: what is the fundamental role of the discipline if we assume that teaching a course represents a personal moral act--a series of choices--and that taking a course represents personal development in effect selected by the student, his or her moral choice on which he or she will act.

The whole problem raises many more questions than it can answer because we simply do not know--nor have we learned a procedure for knowing--what really goes on in a classroom, what really happens to students and teachers. We can perhaps test for knowledge--although we can learn little of its effect on students even if they know. We have many assumptions about learning (i.e., passive learning is bad and therefore lectures are inferior to discussion sections in stimulating true learning) but rarely are we able to test these prejudices. Valuable things may happen for both the teacher and student in a classroom that neither intended or was aware of.

Yet in spite of all of these doubts--and all our genuine ignorance about the process of learning or the process of teaching--I was convinced as I looked around the table at Annapolis that I would be perfectly happy with almost any course taught by any of the gifted teachers present. I came prepared to argue for a particular vision of a course; I ended convinced that it was in fact the teacher and not the course that counted in very much the way the conference discusion had suggested. And that was not a happy consequence. For there is nothing more difficult to define or discuss than good teaching (unless it is effective ways to learn) and it was always the one significant issue my teaching division colleagues absolutely refused to discuss during my brief tenure with the division. Too difficult and too politically dangerous.

The very fact that the conference spent as much time as it did on teachers and students, on their needs and their roles, provided a real surprise. I had expected the discussion would center on "kind" of courses (Western civilization versus world history; history from the bottom up versus history of the power brokers; history as inquiry versus history as story, etc.).

But the view that any course and perhaps most especially an introductory course ought to be the result of a creative act by one or more teachers seems somehow quite right. The giving of a course should very much resemble the writing of a book: there should be a thesis one attempts to develop--perhaps several--and the presentation of the evidence (all kinds of evidence) which can be used to test the thesis. There should be a selection of issues and materials on the basis of established criteria, very much as there is a selection of data in a book; there should be explanation and interpretation; a critical conceptual framework that is clearly established and revealed. A good course should be precisely like a good book--its formal order clear, its conclusions logical, its meaning outlined. As the student participates in the working out of the plan, in the testing of the thesis, in the examination of the evidence, the public debating of the issues and conclusions, he or she should be free to make it his or her own, to reshape it--the material and the evidence--in ways that makes sense to the student. Ideally, the very operation of the course will make this possible but at the very least the student should be able to follow what is being done and should understand both the procedure and the materials.

My second personal conclusion: in order to teach the past you have to know the present. I am more and more convinced that this is the case and the Annapolis conference convinced me. Historical relativism argued that the presentation of the past always reflected the present in which it was being presented. But it is also the case that in an effort to communicate what you have learned about the past in the present you are forced to express that understanding in the language of today, addressing an audience that lives in today's world and thinks in terms of the conditions and institutions of that world. This is especially true about students. To explain to them the past in the present they must see it as distinct from yet related to that present. Historians--and especially teachers of history--therefore need to *know* the contemporary world if they are effectively going to present a different, a past world to a member of that contemporary world. No significant relationship between the past and present or understanding of the past in the present can be made without effective knowledge of *now*. Understanding the present may also help us understand not simply overselves and our students but the very pastness of the past.

Finally, all I have said about skills (history as inquiry) and subject matter (history as life experience) argues how deeply teaching is a part of the larger set of professional historical issues. As this brief report has seen, teaching raises essential historiographic issues. This should come as no surprise. Often scholarship becomes a discipline when it is forced to teach--to pass on its systemized knowledge in effective and organized ways. Teaching requires the communication of what is known and the decisions about what is known and what should be communicated are essentially crucial questions of the discipline itself and not just of teachers of the subject matter of the discipline.

I have often argued that there was a time when it seemed unlikely that anyone would insist that there was no point of view on which teachers of history could rely. First in the 1920s and 1930s there was no crisis of confidence--intellectual or moral--in the discipline. It was an age when those involved in the major historiographic debates were also involved in the key discussions of the teaching of history and the social sciences, when those who were in fact shaping the nature of professional historical production were also busy helping to shape the way history was being taught in the schools and colleges. The separation between scholarship and teaching that grew after the Second World War certainly did not help the teaching enterprise and may not, when finally assessed, have helped scholarship either. Whatever the truth of that case, the point remains that the current crisis represented by the problem of the introductory courses is in some real sense the result of an increased separation between teachers and scholars in the general historical community. Sessions on teaching are ghettoized at annual meetings; one chooses between a scholarly session and a teaching session. Yet the fact remains that an effective course demands to be informed and shaped by effective scholarship and effective scholarship to have its impact fully felt needs to be taught.

The Annapolis conference convinced me once again that effective courses and effective scholarship must somehow be related again. At our conference our teachers all were scholars; but it was more apparent during those three days that teaching issues were historiographic; that course creation was a function of the larger discipline; that the continued separation of those related functions in part defines the crises of confidence everyone refers to.

There was an Annapolis convention many years ago that remains historically significant because it led to the calling of a greater convention, one that took up the larger question of federal union. Whatever its very limited accomplishment, I might have the temerity to hope that this Annapolis meeting will suggest to others a need for reexaming the question of another union, teaching and scholarship.